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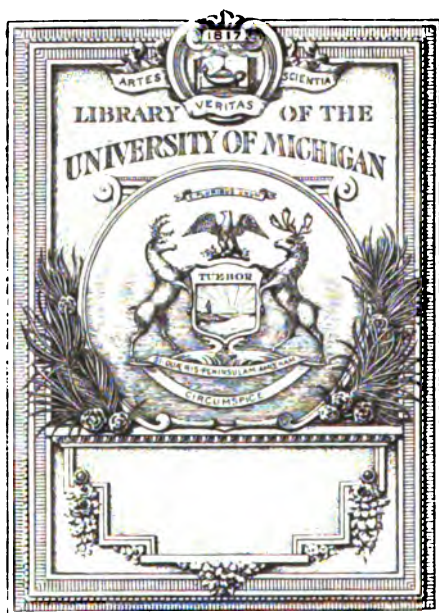
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A P P E A L

FROM

THE NEW

TO

THE OLD WHIGS,

IN CONSEQUENCE OF SOME LATE

DISCUSSIONS IN PARLIAMENT,

RELATIVE TO THE

Reflections on the French Revolution.

THE THIRD EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. DODSLEY, PALL-MALL.

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V. 1

THERE are some corrections in this Edition, which tend to render the sense less obscure in one or two places. The order of the two last members is also changed, and I believe for the better. This change was made on the suggestion of a very learned person, to the partiality of whose friendship I owe much; to the severity of whose judgment I owe more.

AT Mr. Burke's time of life, and in his dispositions, *petere honestam dimissionem* was all he had to do with his political associates. This boon they have not chosen to grant him. With many expressions of good-will, in effect they tell him he has loaded the stage too long. They conceive it, tho' an harsh yet a necessary office, in full parliament to declare to the present age, and to as late a posterity, as shall take any concern in the proceedings of our day, that by one book he has disgraced the whole tenour of his life.—Thus they dismiss their old partner of the war. He is advised to retire, whilst they continue to serve the public upon wiser principles, and under better auspices.

Whether Diogenes the Cynic was a true philosopher, cannot easily be determined. He has written nothing. But the sayings of his which are handed down by others, are lively; and may be easily and aptly applied on many occasions by those whose wit is not so perfect as their memory. This Diogenes (as every one will recollect) was citizen of a little bleak town situated on the coast of the Euxine, and exposed to all the buffets of that unhospitable sea. He lived at a great distance

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from those weather-beaten walls, in ease and indolence, and in the midst of literary leisure, when he was informed that his townsmen had condemned him to be banished from Sinope; he answered coolly, "And I condemn them to live in Sinope."

The gentlemen of the party in which Mr. Burke has always acted, in passing upon him the sentence of retirement*, have done nothing more than to confirm the sentence which he had long before passed upon himself. When that retreat was choice, which the tribunal of his peers inflict as punishment, it is plain he does not think their sentence intolerably severe. Whether they who are to continue in the Sinope which shortly he is to leave, will spend the long years which, I hope, remain to them, in a manner more to their satisfaction, than he shall slide down, in silence and obscurity, the slope of his declining days, is best known to him who measures out years, and days, and fortunes.

* News-paper intelligence ought always to be received with some degree of caution. I do not know that the following paragraph is founded on any authority; but it comes with an air of authority. The paper is professedly in the interest of the modern Whigs, and under their direction. The paragraph is not disclaimed on their part. It professes to be the decision of those whom its author calls "The great and firm body of the Whigs of England." Who are the Whigs of a different composition, which the promulgator of the sentence considers as composed of fleeting and unsettled particles, I know not, nor whether there be any of that description. The definitive sentence of "the great and firm body of the Whigs of England" (as this paper gives it out) is as follows:

"The great and firm body of the Whigs of England, true to their principles, have decided on the dispute between Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke; and the former is declared to have maintained the pure doctrine by which they are bound together, and upon which they have invariably acted. The consequence is, that Mr. Burke retires from parliament." *Morning Chronicle*, May 12, 1791.

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The quality of the sentence does not however decide on the justice of it. Angry friendship is sometimes as bad as calm enmity. For this reason the cold neutrality of abstract justice, is, to a good and clear cause, a more desirable thing than an affection liable to be any way disturbed. When the trial is by friends, if the decision should happen to be favorable, the honor of the acquittal is lessened; if adverse, the condemnation is exceedingly embittered. It is aggravated by coming from lips professing friendship, and pronouncing judgment with sorrow and reluctance. Taking in the whole view of life, it is more safe to live under the jurisdiction of severe but steady reason, than under the empire of indulgent, but capricious passion. It is certainly well for Mr. Burke that there are impartial men in the world. To them I address myself, pending the appeal which on his part is made from the living to the dead, from the modern Whigs to the antient.

The gentlemen, who, in the name of the party, have passed sentence on Mr. Burke's book, in the light of literary criticism are judges above all challenge. He did not indeed flatter himself, that as a writer, he could claim the approbation of men whose talents, in his judgment and in the public judgment, approach to prodigies; if ever such persons should be disposed to estimate the merit of a composition upon the standard of their own ability.

In their critical censure, though Mr. Burke may find himself humbled by it as a writer, as a man and as an Englishman, he finds matter not only of consolation, but of pride. He proposed to convey to a foreign people, not his own ideas, but the prevalent opinions and sentiments of a nation, renowned for wisdom, and celebrated in all ages for a well under-

stood and well regulated love of freedom. This was the avowed purpose of the far greater part of his work. As that work has not been ill received, and as his critics will not only admit but contend, that this reception could not be owing to any excellence in the composition capable of perverting the public judgment, it is clear that he is not disavowed by the nation whose sentiments he had undertaken to describe. His representation is authenticated by the verdict of his country. Had his piece, as a work of skill, been thought worthy of commendation, some doubt might have been entertained of the cause of his success. But the matter stands exactly as he wishes it. He is more happy to have his fidelity in representation recognized by the body of the people, than if he were to be ranked in point of ability (and higher he could not be ranked) with those whose critical censure he has had the misfortune to incur.

It is not from this part of their decision which the author wishes an appeal. There are things which touch him more nearly. To abandon them would argue, not diffidence in his abilities, but treachery to his cause. Had his work been recognized as a pattern for dextrous argument, and powerful eloquence, yet if it tended to establish maxims, or to inspire sentiments, adverse to the wise and free constitution of this kingdom, he would only have cause to lament, that it possessed qualities fitted to perpetuate the memory of his offence. Oblivion would be the only means of his escaping the reproaches of posterity. But, after receiving the common allowance due to the common weakness of man, he wishes to owe no part of the indulgence of the world to its forgetfulness. He is at issue with the party, before the present, and if ever he can reach it, before the coming, generation.

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The author, several months previous to his publication, well knew, that two gentlemen, both of them possessed of the most distinguished abilities, and of a most decisive authority in the party, had differed with him in one of the most material points relative to the French revolution; that is in their opinion of the behaviour of the French soldiery, and its revolt from its officers. At the time of their public declaration on this subject, he did not imagine the opinion of these two gentlemen had extended a great way beyond themselves. He was however well aware of the probability, that persons of their just credit and influence would at length dispose the greater number to an agreement with their sentiments; and perhaps might induce the whole body to a tacit acquiescence in their declarations, under a natural, and not always an improper dislike of shewing a difference with those who lead their party. I will not deny, that in general this conduct in parties is defensible; but within what limits the practice is to be circumscribed, and with what exceptions the doctrine which supports it is to be received, it is not my present purpose to define. The present question has nothing to do with their motives; it only regards the public expression of their sentiments.

The author is compelled, however reluctantly, to receive the sentence pronounced upon him in the House of Commons as that of the party. It proceeded from the mouth of him who must be regarded as its authentic organ. In a discussion which continued for two days, no one gentleman of the opposition interposed a negative, or even a doubt, in favour of him or of his opinions. If an idea consonant to the doctrine of his book, or favourable to his conduct, lurks in the minds of any persons in that description, it is to be considered only as a peculiarity which they

indulge to their own private liberty of thinking. The author cannot reckon upon it. It has nothing to do with them as members of a party. In their public capacity, in every thing that meets the public ear, or public eye, the body must be considered as unanimous.

They must have been animated with a very warm zeal against those opinions, because they were under no necessity of acting as they did, from any just cause of apprehension that the errors of this writer should be taken for theirs. They might disapprove; it was not necessary they should *disavow* him, as they have done in the whole, and in all the parts of his book; because neither in the whole nor in any of the parts, were they, directly, or by any implication, involved. The author was known indeed to have been warmly, strenuously, and affectionately, against all allurements of ambition, and all possibility of alienation from pride, or personal pique, or peevish jealousy, attached to the Whig party. With one of them he has had a long friendship, which he must ever remember with a melancholy pleasure. To the great, real, and amiable virtues, and to the unequalled abilities of that gentleman, he shall always join with his country in paying a just tribute of applause. There are others in that party for whom, without any shade of sorrow, he bears as high a degree of love as can enter into the human heart; and as much veneration as ought to be paid to human creatures; because he firmly believes, that they are endowed with as many and as great virtues, as the nature of man is capable of producing, joined to great clearness of intellect, to a just judgment, to a wonderful temper, and to true wisdom. His sentiments with regard to them can never vary, without subjecting him to the just indignation of mankind,

kind, who are bound, and are generally disposed, to look up with reverence to the best patterns of their species, and such as give a dignity to the nature of which we all participate. For the whole of the party he has high respect. Upon a view indeed of the composition of all parties, he finds great satisfaction. It is, that in leaving the service of his country, he leaves parliament without all comparison richer in abilities than he found it. Very solid and very brilliant talents distinguish the ministerial benches. The opposite rows are a sort of seminary of genius, and have brought forth such and so great talents as never before (amongst us at least) have appeared together. If their owners are disposed to serve their country, (he trusts they are) they are in a condition to render it services of the highest importance. If, through mistake or passion, they are led to contribute to its ruin, we shall at least have a consolation denied to the ruined country that adjoins us—we shall not be destroyed by men of mean or secondary capacities.

All these considerations of party attachment, of personal regard, and of personal admiration, rendered the author of the *Reflections* extremely cautious, lest the slightest suspicion should arise of his having undertaken to express the sentiments even of a single man of that description. His words at the outset of his *Reflections* are these :

“ In the first letter I had the honour to write to you, and which at length I send, I wrote neither *for*, nor *from* any description of men ; nor shall I in this. My errors, if any, are *my own*. My reputation *alone* is to answer for them.” In another place, he says (p. 126.) “ I have *no man's* proxy. I speak *only* from *myself*; when I disclaim, as I do, with all possible earnestness, all communion with the actors in that triumph, or with the

“ admirers of it. When I assert any thing else, as
 “ concerning the people of England, I speak from
 “ observation, *not from authority.*”

To say then, that the book did not contain the sentiments of their party, is not to contradict the author, or to clear themselves. If the party had denied his doctrines to be the current opinions of the majority in the nation, they would have put the question on its true issue. There, I hope and believe, his censurers will find on the trial, that the author is as faithful a representative of the general sentiment of the people of England, as any person amongst them can be of the ideas of his own party.

The French Revolution can have no connexion with the objects of any parties in England formed before the period of that event, unless they choose to imitate any of its acts, or to consolidate any principles of that revolution with their own opinions. The French revolution is no part of their original contract. The matter, standing by itself, is an open subject of political discussion, like all the other revolutions (and there are many) which have been attempted or accomplished in our age. But if any considerable number of British subjects, taking a factious interest in the proceedings of France, begin publicly to incorporate themselves for the subversion of nothing short of the *whole* constitution of this kingdom; to incorporate themselves for the utter overthrow of the body of its laws, civil and ecclesiastical, and with them of the whole system of its manners, in favour of the new constitution, and of the modern usages of the French nation, I think no party principle could bind the author not to express his sentiments strongly against such a faction. On the contrary, he was perhaps bound to mark his dissent, when the leaders of the party were daily going out of their way to make public declarations in
 parliament,

parliament, which, notwithstanding the purity of their intentions, had a tendency to encourage ill-designing men in their practices against our constitution.

The members of this faction leave no doubt of the nature and the extent of the mischief they mean to produce. They declare it openly and decisively. Their intentions are not left equivocal. They are put out of all dispute by the thanks which, formally and as it were officially, they issue; in order to recommend, and to promote the circulation of the most atrocious and treasonable libels, against all the hitherto cherished objects of the love and veneration of this people. Is it contrary to the duty of a good subject, to reprobate such proceedings? Is it alien to the office of a good member of parliament, when such practices increase, and when the audacity of the conspirators grows with their impunity, to point out in his place their evil tendency to the happy constitution which he is chosen to guard? Is it wrong in any sense, to render the people of England sensible how much they must suffer if unfortunately such a wicked faction should become possessed in this country of the same power which their allies in the very next to us have so perfidiously usurped, and so outrageously abused? Is it inhuman to prevent, if possible, the spilling of *their* blood, or imprudent to guard against the effusion of *our own*? Is it contrary to any of the honest principles of party, or repugnant to any of the known duties of friendship for any senator, respectfully, and amicably, to caution his brother members against countenancing by inconsiderate expressions a sort of proceeding which it is impossible they should deliberately approve?

He had undertaken to demonstrate, by arguments which he thought could not be refuted, and by documents, which he was sure could not be denied, that

that no comparison was to be made between the British government, and the French usurpation.—That they who endeavoured madly to compare them, were by no means making the comparison of one good system with another good system, which varied only in local and circumstantial differences; much less, that they were holding out to us a superior pattern of legal liberty, which we might substitute in the place of our old, and, as they describe it, superannuated constitution. He meant to demonstrate, that the French scheme was not a comparative good, but a positive evil.—That the question did not at all turn, as it had been stated, on a parallel between a monarchy and a republic. He denied that the present scheme of things in France, did at all deserve the respectable name of a republic: he had therefore no comparison between monarchies and republics to make.—That what was done in France was a wild attempt to methodize anarchy; to perpetuate and fix disorder. That it was a foul, impious, monstrous thing, wholly out of the course of moral nature. He undertook to prove, that it was generated in treachery, fraud, falsehood, hypocrisy, and unprovoked murder.—He offered to make out, that those who have led in that business, had conducted themselves with the utmost perfidy to their colleagues in function, and with the most flagrant perjury both towards their king and their constituents; to the one of whom the assembly had sworn fealty, and to the other, when under no sort of violence or constraint, they had sworn a full obedience to instructions.—That by the terror of assassination they had driven away a very great number of the members, so as to produce a false appearance of a majority.—That this fictitious majority had fabricated a constitution, which as now it stands, is a tyranny far beyond any example that can be found in the civilized European

European world of our age; that therefore the lovers of it must be lovers, not of liberty, but, if they really understand its nature, of the lowest and basest of all servitude.

He proposed to prove, that the present state of things in France is not a transient evil, productive, as some have too favourably represented it, of a lasting good; but that the present evil is only the means of producing future, and (if that were possible) worse evils.—That it is not, an undigested, imperfect, and crude scheme of liberty, which may gradually be mellowed and ripened into an orderly and social freedom; but that it is so fundamentally wrong, as to be utterly incapable of correcting itself by any length of time, or of being formed into any mode of polity, of which a member of the house of commons could publicly declare his approbation.

If it had been permitted to Mr. Burke, he would have shewn distinctly, and in detail, that what the assembly calling itself national, had held out as a large and liberal toleration, is in reality a cruel and insidious religious persecution; infinitely more bitter than any which had been heard of within this century.—That it had a feature in it worse than the old persecutions.—That the old persecutors acted, or pretended to act, from zeal towards some system of piety and virtue: they gave strong preferences to their own; and if they drove people from one religion, they provided for them another, in which men might take refuge, and expect consolation.—That their new persecution is not against a variety in conscience, but against all conscience. That it professes contempt towards its object; and whilst it treats all religion with scorn, is not so much as neutral about the modes: It unites the opposite evils of intolerance and of indifference.

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He could have proved, that it is so far from rejecting tests (as unaccountably had been asserted) that the assembly had imposed tests of a peculiar hardship, arising from a cruel and premeditated pecuniary fraud: tests against old principles, sanctioned by the laws, and binding upon the conscience.—That these tests were not imposed as titles to some new honour or some new benefit, but to enable men to hold a poor compensation for their legal estates, of which they had been unjustly deprived; and, as they had before been reduced from affluence to indigence, so on refusal to swear against their conscience, they are now driven from indigence to famine, and treated with every possible degree of outrage, insult, and inhumanity.—That these tests, which their imposers well knew would not be taken, were intended for the very purpose of cheating their miserable victims out of the compensation which the tyrannic impostors of the assembly had previously and purposely rendered the public unable to pay. That thus their ultimate violence arose from their original fraud.

He would have shewn that the universal peace and concord amongst nations, which these common enemies to mankind had held out with the same fraudulent ends and pretences with which they had uniformly conducted every part of their proceedings, was a coarse and clumsy deception, unworthy to be proposed as an example, by an informed and sagacious British senator, to any other country.—That far from peace and good-will to men, they meditated war against all other governments; and proposed systematically to excite in them all the very worst kind of seditions, in order to lead to their common destruction.—That they had discovered, in the few instances in which they have hitherto had the power of discovering it, (as at Avignon, and in
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the Comtat, at Cavailhon and at Carpentras) in what a savage manner they mean to conduct the seditions and wars they have planned against their neighbours for the sake of putting themselves at the head of a confederation of republics as wild and as mischievous as their own. He would have shewn in what manner that wicked scheme was carried on in those places, without being directly either owned or disclaimed, in hopes that the undone people should at length be obliged to fly to their tyrannic protection, as some sort of refuge from their barbarous and treacherous hostility. He would have shewn from those examples, that neither this nor any other society could be in safety as long as such a public enemy was in a condition to continue directly or indirectly such practices against its peace.—That Great Britain was a principal object of their machinations; and that they had begun by establishing correspondences, communications, and a sort of federal union with the factious here.—That no practical enjoyment of a thing so imperfect and precarious, as human happiness must be, even under the very best of governments, could be a security for the existence of these governments, during the prevalence of the principles of France, propagated from that grand school of every disorder, and every vice.

He was prepared to shew the madness of their declaration of the pretended rights of man; the childish futility of some of their maxims; the gross and stupid absurdity, and the palpable falsity of others; and the mischievous tendency of all such declarations to the wellbeing of men and of citizens, and to the safety and prosperity of every just commonwealth. He was prepared to shew that, in their conduct, the assembly had directly violated not only every sound principle of government, but every one, without exception, of their own false or futile maxims; and
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indeed every rule they had pretended to lay down for their own direction.

In a word, he was ready to shew, that those who could, after such a full and fair exposure, continue to countenance the French insanity, were not mistaken politicians, but bad men; but he thought that in this case, as in many others, ignorance had been the cause of admiration.

These are strong assertions. They required strong proofs. The member who laid down these positions was and is ready to give, in his place, to each position decisive evidence, correspondent to the nature and quality of the several allegations.

In order to judge on the propriety of the interruption given to Mr. Burke, in his speech on the committee of the Quebec bill, it is necessary to enquire, first, whether, on general principles, he ought to have been suffered to prove his allegations? Secondly, whether the time he had chosen was so very unreasonable as to make his exercise of a parliamentary right productive of ill effects on his friends or his country? Thirdly, whether the opinions delivered in his book, and which he had begun to expatiate upon that day, were in contradiction to his former principles, and inconsistent with the general tenor of his publick conduct?

They who have made eloquent panegyrics on the French Revolution, and who think a free discussion so very advantageous in every case, and under every circumstance, ought not, in my opinion, to have prevented their eulogies from being tried on the test of facts. If their panegyric had been answered with an invective (bating the difference in point of eloquence) the one would have been as good as the other: that is, they would both of them have been good for nothing. The panegyric and the satire ought to be suffered to go to trial; and that which

which shrinks from it, must be contented to stand at best as a mere declamation.

I do not think Mr. Burke was wrong in the course he took. That which seemed to be recommended to him by Mr. Pitt, was rather to extol the English constitution, than to attack the French. I do not determine what would be best for Mr. Pitt to do in his situation. I do not deny that *he* may have good reasons for his reserve. Perhaps they might have been as good for a similar reserve on the part of Mr. Fox, if his zeal had suffered him to listen to them. But there were no motives of ministerial prudence, or of that prudence which ought to guide a man perhaps on the eve of being minister, to restrain the author of the Reflections. He is in no office under the crown, he is not the organ of any party.

The excellencies of the British constitution had already exercised and exhausted the talents of the best thinkers, and the most eloquent writers and speakers, that the world ever saw. But in the present case, a system declared to be far better, and which certainly is much newer (to restless and unstable minds no small recommendation) was held out to the admiration of the good people of England. In that case, it was surely proper for those, who had far other thoughts of the French constitution, to scrutinize that plan which has been recommended to our imitation by active and zealous factions, at home and abroad. Our complexion is such, that we are palled with enjoyment, and stimulated with hope; that we become less sensible to a long-possessed benefit, from the very circumstance that it is become habitual. Specious, untried, ambiguous prospects of new advantage recommend themselves to the spirit of adventure, which more or less prevails in every mind. From this temper, men, and factions, and nations too, have

have sacrificed the good, of which they had been in assured possession, in favour of wild and irrational expectations. What should hinder Mr. Burke, if he thought this temper likely, at one time or other, to prevail in our country, from exposing to a multitude, eager to game, the false calculations of this lottery of fraud?

I allow, as I ought to do, for the effusions which come from a *general* zeal for liberty. This is to be indulged, and even to be encouraged, as long as the *question is general*. An orator, above all men, ought to be allowed a full and free use of the praise of liberty. A common place in favour of slavery and tyranny delivered to a popular assembly, would indeed be a bold defiance to all the principles of rhetoric. But in a question whether any particular constitution is or is not a plan of rational liberty, this kind of rhetorical flourish in favour of freedom in general, is surely a little out of its place. It is virtually a begging of the question. It is a song of triumph, before the battle.

“ But Mr. Fox does not make the panegyric of “ the new constitution ; it is the destruction only of “ the absolute monarchy he commends.” When that nameless thing which has been lately set up in France was described as “ the most stupendous and “ glorious edifice of liberty, which had been erected “ ed on the foundation of human integrity in “ any time or country,” it might at first, have led the hearer into an opinion, that the construction of the new fabric was an object of admiration, as well as the demolition of the old. Mr. Fox, however, has explained himself; and it would be too like that captious and cavilling spirit, which I so perfectly detest, if I were to pin down the language of an eloquent and ardent mind, to the punctilious exactness of a pleader. Then Mr. Fox did not mean to applaud that monstrous thing, which,

which, by the courtesy of France, they call a constitution. I easily believe it. Far from meriting the praises of a great genius like Mr. Fox, it cannot be approved by any man of common sense, or common information. He cannot admire the change of one piece of barbarism for another, and a worse. He cannot rejoice at the destruction of a monarchy, mitigated by manners, respectful to laws and usages, and attentive, perhaps but too attentive to public opinion, in favour of the tyranny of a licentious, ferocious, and savage multitude, without laws, manners, or morals, and which so far from respecting the general sense of mankind, insolently endeavours to alter all the principles and opinions, which have hitherto guided and contained the world, and to force them into a conformity to their views and actions. His mind is made to better things.

That a man should rejoice and triumph in the destruction of an absolute monarchy; that in such an event he should overlook the captivity, disgrace, and degradation of an unfortunate prince, and the continual danger to a life which exists only to be endangered; that he should overlook the utter ruin of whole orders and classes of men, extending itself directly, or in its nearest consequences, to at least a million of our kind, and to at least the temporary wretchedness of an whole community, I do not deny to be in some sort natural: Because, when people see a political object, which they ardently desire, but in one point of view, they are apt extremely to palliate, or underrate the evils which may arise in obtaining it. This is no reflection on the humanity of those persons. Their good-nature I am the last man in the world to dispute. It only shews that they are not sufficiently informed, or sufficiently considerate. When they come to reflect seriously on the transaction, they will think themselves bound to examine what the object is that has been acquired by all this havock. They will hardly assert

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that the destruction of an absolute monarchy, is a thing good in itself, without any sort of reference to the antecedent state of things, or to consequences which result from the change; without any consideration whether under its ancient rule a country was, to a considerable degree, flourishing and populous, highly cultivated, and highly commercial; and whether, under that domination, though personal liberty had been precarious and insecure, property at least was ever violated. They cannot take the moral sympathies of the human mind along with them, in abstractions separated from the good or evil condition of the state, from the quality of actions, and the character of the actors. None of us love absolute and uncontrolled monarchy; but we could not rejoice at the sufferings of a Marcus Aurelius, or a Trajan, who were absolute monarchs, as we do when Nero is condemned by the senate to be punished *more majorum*: Nor when that monster was obliged to fly with his wife Sporus, and to drink puddle, were men affected in the same manner, as when the venerable Galba, with all his faults and errors, was murdered by a revolted mercenary soldiery. With such things before our eyes our feelings contradict our theories; and when this is the case, the feelings are true, and the theory is false. What I contend for is, that in commending the destruction of an absolute monarchy, *all the circumstances* ought not to be wholly overlooked, as considerations fit only for shallow and superficial minds.

The subversion of a government, to deserve any praise, must be considered but as a step preparatory to the formation of something better, either in the scheme of the government itself, or in the persons who administer in it, or in both. These events cannot in reason be separated. For instance, when we praise our revolution of 1688, though the nation in that act, was on the defensive, and was justified

in incurring all the evils of a defensive war, we do not rest there. We always combine with the subversion of the old government the happy settlement which followed. When we estimate that revolution, we mean to comprehend in our calculation both the value of the thing parted with, and the value of the thing received in exchange.

The burthen of proof lies heavily on those who tear to pieces the whole frame and contexture of their country, that they could find no other way of settling a government fit to obtain its rational ends, except that which they have pursued by means unfavourable to all the present happiness of millions of people, and to the utter ruin of several hundreds of thousands. In their political arrangements, men have no right to put the well-being of the present generation wholly out of the question. Perhaps the only moral trust with any certainty in our hands, is the care of our own time. With regard to futurity, we are to treat it like a ward. We are not so to attempt an improvement of his fortune, as to put the capital of his estate to any hazard.

It is not worth our while to discuss, like sophisters; whether, in no case, some evil, for the sake of some benefit is to be tolerated. Nothing universal can be rationally affirmed on any moral, or any political subject. Pure metaphysical abstraction does not belong to these matters. The lines of morality are not like the ideal lines of mathematics. They are broad and deep as well as long. They admit of exceptions; they demand modifications. These exceptions and modifications are not made by the process of logic, but by the rules of prudence. Prudence is not only the first in rank of the virtues political and moral, but she is the director, the regulator, the standard of them all. Metaphysics cannot live without definition; but prudence is cautious how she defines. Our courts cannot be more

fearful in suffering fictitious cases to be brought before them for eliciting their determination on a point of law, than prudent moralists are in putting extreme and hazardous cases of conscience upon emergencies not existing. Without attempting therefore to define, what never can be defined, the case of a revolution in government, this, I think, may be safely affirmed, that a fore and pressing evil is to be removed, and that a good, great in its amount, and unequivocal in its nature, must be probable almost to certainty, before the inestimable price of our own morals, and the well-being of a number of our fellow-citizens, is paid for a revolution. If ever we ought to be economists even to parsimony, it is in the voluntary production of evil. Every revolution contains in it something of evil.

It must always be, to those who are the greatest amateurs, or even professors of revolutions, a matter very hard to prove, that the late French government was so bad, that nothing worse, in the infinite devices of men, could come in its place. They who have brought France to its present condition ought to prove also, by something better than prattling about the Bastille, that their subverted government was as incapable, as the present certainly is, of all improvement and correction. How dare they to say so who have never made that experiment? They are experimentors by their trade. They have made an hundred others, infinitely more hazardous.

The English admirers of the forty-eight thousand republics which form the French federation, praise them not for what they are, but for what they are to become. They do not talk as politicians but as prophets. But in whatever character they choose to found panegyric on prediction, it will be thought a little singular to praise any work, not for its own merits, but for the merits of something else which
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may succeed to it. When any political institution is praised, in spite of great and prominent faults of every kind, and in all its parts, it must be supposed to have something excellent in its fundamental principles. It must be shewn that it is right though imperfect; that it is not only by possibility susceptible of improvement, but that it contains in it a principle tending to its melioration.

Before they attempt to shew this progression of their favourite work, from absolute pravity to finished perfection, they will find themselves engaged in a civil war with those whose cause they maintain. What! alter our sublime constitution, the glory of France, the envy of the world, the pattern for mankind, the master-piece of legislation, the collected and concentrated glory of this enlightened age! Have we not produced it ready made and ready armed, mature in its birth, a perfect goddess of wisdom and of war, hammered by our blacksmith midwives out of the brain of Jupiter himself? Have we not sworn our devout, profane, believing, infidel people, to an allegiance to this goddess, even before she had burst the *dura mater*, and as yet existed only in embryo? Have we not solemnly declared this constitution unalterable by any future legislature? Have we not bound it on posterity for ever, though our abettors have declared that no one generation is competent to bind another? Have we not obliged the members of every future assembly to qualify themselves for their seats by swearing to its conservation?

Indeed the French constitution always must be (if a change is not made in all their principles and fundamental arrangements) a government wholly by popular representation. It must be this or nothing. The French faction considers as an usurpation, as an atrocious violation of the indefeasible rights of man, every other description of government. Take it

or leave it; there is no medium. Let the irrefragable doctors fight out their own controversy in their own way, and with their own weapons; and when they are tired let them commence a treaty of peace. Let the plenipotentiary sophisters of England settle with the diplomatic sophisters of France in what manner right is to be corrected by an infusion of wrong, and how truth may be rendered more true by a due intermixture of falshood.

Having sufficiently proved, that nothing could make it *generally* improper for Mr. Burke to prove what he had alledged concerning the object of this dispute, I pass to the second question, that is, whether he was justified in choosing the committee on the Quebec bill as the field for this discussion? If it were necessary, it might be *shewn*, that he was not the first to bring these discussions into parliament, nor the first to renew them in this session. The fact is notorious. As to the Quebec bill, they were introduced into the debate upon that subject for two plain reasons; first, that as he thought it *then* not adviseable to make the proceedings of the factious societies the subject of a direct motion, he had no other way open to him. Nobody has attempted to shew, that it was at all admissible into any other business before the house. Here every thing was favourable. Here was a bill to form a new constitution for a French province under English dominion. The question naturally arose, whether we should settle that constitution upon English ideas, or upon French. This furnished an opportunity for examining into the value of the French constitution, either considered as applicable to colonial government, or in its own nature. The bill too was in a committee. By the privilege of speaking as often as he pleased, he hoped in some measure to supply the want of support, which he had but too much reason to apprehend. In a committee it was always in his power to bring the

the questions from generalities to facts; from declamation to discussion. Some benefit he actually received from this privilege. These are plain, obvious, natural reasons for his conduct. I believe they are the true, and the only true ones.

They who justify the frequent interruptions, which at length wholly disabled him from proceeding, attribute their conduct to a very different interpretation of his motives. They say, that through corruption, or malice, or folly, he was acting his part in a plot to make his friend Mr. Fox pass for a republican; and thereby to prevent the gracious intentions of his sovereign from taking effect, which at that time had begun to disclose themselves in his favour*. This

To explain this, it will be necessary to advert to a paragraph which appeared in a paper in the minority interest some time before this debate. "A very dark intrigue has lately been discovered, the authors of which are well known to us; but until the glorious day shall come, when it will not be a LIBEL to tell the TRUTH, we must not be so regardless of our own safety, as to publish their names. We will, however, state the fact, leaving it to the ingenuity of our readers to discover what we dare not publish.

"Since the business of the armament against Russia has been under discussion, a great personage has been heard to say, "that he was not so wedded to Mr. PITT, as not to be very willing to give his confidence to Mr. Fox, if the latter should be able, in a crisis like the present, to conduct the government of the country with greater advantage to the public."

"This patriotic declaration immediately alarmed the swarm of courtly insects that live only in the sunshine of ministerial favour. It was thought to be the forerunner of the dismissal of Mr. PITT, and every engine was set at work for the purpose of preventing such an event. The principal engine employed on this occasion was CALUMNY. It was whispered in the ear of a great personage, that Mr. Fox was the last man in England to be trusted by a KING, because he was by PRINCIPLE a REPUBLICAN, and consequently an enemy to MONARCHY.

"In the discussion of the Quebec bill which stood for yesterday, it was the intention of some persons to connect with this subject the French Revolution, in hopes that Mr. Fox would be warmed by a collision with Mr. Burke, and induced to de-

is a pretty serious charge. This, on Mr. Burke's part, would be something more than mistake; something worse than formal irregularity. Any contumely, any outrage is readily passed over, by the indulgence which we all owe to sudden passion. These things are soon forgot upon occasions in which all men are so apt to forget themselves. Deliberate injuries, to a degree must be remembered, because they require deliberate precautions to be secured against their return.

I am authorized to say for Mr. Burke, that he considers that cause assigned for the outrage offered to him, as ten times worse than the outrage itself. There is such a strange confusion of ideas on this subject, that it is far more difficult to understand the nature of the charge, than to refute it when understood. Mr. Fox's friends were, it seems, seized with a sudden panic terror lest he should

“ send that revolution in which so much power was taken
“ from, and so little left in, the crown.

“ Had Mr. Fox fallen into the snare, his speech on the occasion would have been laid before a great personage, as a
“ proof that a man who could defend such a revolution, might
“ be a very good republican, but could not possibly be a friend
“ to monarchy.

“ But those who laid the snare were disappointed; for Mr.
“ Fox, in the short conversation which took place yesterday in
“ the house of commons said, that he confessedly had thought
“ favorably of the French revolution; but that most certainly
“ he never had, either in parliament or out of parliament, professed or defended republican principles.”

Argus, April 22d, 1791.

Mr. Burke cannot answer for the truth, nor prove the falsehood of the story given by the friends of the party in this paper. He only knows that an opinion of its being well or ill authenticated had no influence on his conduct. He meant only, to the best of his power, to guard the public against the ill designs of factions out of doors. What Mr. Burke did in parliament could hardly have been intended to draw Mr. Fox into any declarations unfavourable to his principles, since (by the account of those who are his friends) he had long before effectually prevented the success of any such scandalous designs. Mr. Fox's friends have themselves done away that imputation on Mr. Burke.

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pass for a republican. I do not think they had any ground for this apprehension. But let us admit they had. What was there in the Quebec bill, rather than in any other, which could subject him or them to that imputation? Nothing in a discussion of the French constitution, which might arise on the Quebec bill, could tend to make Mr. Fox pass for a republican; except he should take occasion to extol that state of things in France, which affects to be a republic or a confederacy of republics. If such an encomium could make any unfavourable impression on the king's mind, surely his voluntary panegyrics on that event, not so much introduced as intruded into other debates, with which they had little relation, must have produced that effect with much more certainty, and much greater force. The Quebec bill, at worst, was only one of those opportunities, carefully sought, and industriously improved by himself. Mr. Sheridan had already brought forth a panegyric on the French system in a still higher strain, with full as little demand from the nature of the business before the house, in a speech too good to be speedily forgotten. Mr. Fox followed him without any direct call from the subject matter, and upon the same ground. To canvass the merits of the French constitution on the Quebec bill could not draw forth any opinions which were not brought forward before, with no small ostentation, and with very little of necessity, or perhaps of propriety. What mode, or what time of discussing the conduct of the French faction in England would not equally tend to kindle this enthusiasm, and afford those occasions for panegyric, which, far from shunning, Mr. Fox has always industriously sought? He himself said very truly, in the debate, that no artifices were necessary to draw from him his opinions upon that subject. But to fall upon Mr. Burke for making an use, at worst
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not more irregular, of the same liberty, is tantamount to a plain declaration, that the topic of France is *tabooed* or forbidden ground to Mr. Burke, and to Mr. Burke alone. But surely Mr. Fox is not a republican; and what should hinder him, when such a discussion came on, from clearing himself unequivocally (as his friends say he had done near a fortnight before) of all such imputations? Instead of being a disadvantage to him, he would have defeated all his enemies, and Mr. Burke, since he has thought proper to reckon him amongst them.

But it seems, some news-paper, or other, had imputed to him republican principles, on occasion of his conduct upon the Quebec bill. Supposing Mr. Burke to have seen these news-papers (which is to suppose more than I believe to be true) I would ask, when did the news-papers forbear to charge Mr. Fox, or Mr. Burke himself, with republican principles, or any other principles which they thought could render both of them odious, sometimes to one description of people, sometimes to another? Mr. Burke, since the publication of his pamphlet, has been a thousand times charged in the news-papers with holding despotic principles. He could not enjoy one moment of domestic quiet, he could not perform the least particle of public duty, if he did not altogether disregard the language of those libels. But however his sensibility might be affected by such abuse, it would in *him* have been thought a most ridiculous reason for shutting up the mouths of Mr. Fox, or Mr. Sheridan, so as to prevent their delivering their sentiments of the French revolution,—that forsooth, “the news-papers had lately charged Mr. Burke with being an enemy to liberty.”

I allow that those gentlemen have privileges to which Mr. Burke has no claim. But their friends ought to plead those privileges; and not to assign bad reasons,

reasons, on the principle of what is fair between man and man, and thereby to put themselves on a level with those who can so easily refute them. Let them say at once that his reputation is of no value, and that he has no call to assert it; but that theirs is of infinite concern to the party and the public; and to that consideration he ought to sacrifice all his opinions, and all his feelings.

In that language I should hear a style correspondent to the proceeding; lofty, indeed, but plain and consistent. Admit, however, for a moment, and merely for argument, that this gentleman had as good a right to continue as they had to begin these discussions, in candour and equity they must allow that their voluntary descant in praise of the French constitution was as much an oblique attack on Mr. Burke, as Mr. Burke's enquiry into the foundation of this encomium could possibly be construed into an imputation upon them. They well knew, that he felt like other men; and of course he would think it mean and unworthy, to decline asserting in his place, and in the front of able adversaries, the principles of what he had penned in his closet, and without an opponent before him. They could not but be convinced, that declamations of this kind would rouse him; that he must think, coming from men of their *calibre*, they were highly mischievous; that they gave countenance to bad men, and bad designs; and, though he was aware that the handling such matters in parliament was delicate, yet he was a man very likely, whenever, much against his will, they were brought there, to resolve, that there they should be thoroughly sifted. Mr. Fox, early in the preceding session, had public notice from Mr. Burke of the light in which he considered every attempt to introduce the example of France into the politics of this country; and of his resolution to break with his best friends;

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and to join with his worst enemies to prevent it. He hoped, that no such necessity would ever exist. But in case it should, his determination was made. The party knew perfectly that he would at least defend himself. He never intended to attack Mr. Fox, nor did he attack him directly or indirectly. His speech kept to its matter. No personality was employed even in the remotest allusion. He never did impute to that gentleman any republican principles, or any other bad principles or bad conduct whatsoever. It was far from his words; it was far from his heart. It must be remembered, that notwithstanding Mr. Fox, in order to fix on Mr. Burke an unjustifiable change of opinion, and the foul crime of teaching a set of maxims to a boy, and afterwards, when these maxims became adult in his mature age, of abandoning both the disciple and the doctrine, Mr. Burke never attempted, in any one particular, either to criminate or to recriminate. It may be said, that he had nothing of the kind in his power. This he does not controvert. He certainly had it not in his inclination. That gentleman had as little ground for the charges which he was so easily provoked to make upon him.

The gentlemen of the party (I include Mr. Fox) have been kind enough to consider the dispute brought on by this business, and the consequent separation of Mr. Burke from their corps, as a matter of regret and uneasiness. I cannot be of opinion, that by his exclusion they have had any loss at all. A man whose opinions are so very adverse to theirs, adverse, as it was expressed, "as pole to pole," so mischievously as well as so directly adverse, that they found themselves under the necessity of solemnly disclaiming them in full parliament, such a man must ever be to them a most unseemly and unprofitable incumbrance. A co-operation with him could only serve to embarrass them in all

all their councils. They have besides publicly represented him as a man capable of abusing the docility and confidence of ingenuous youth ; and, for a bad reason, or for no reason, of disgracing his whole public life by a scandalous contradiction of every one of his own acts, writings, and declarations. If these charges be true, their exclusion of such a person from their body is a circumstance which does equal honour to their justice and their prudence. If they express a degree of sensibility in being obliged to execute this wise and just sentence, from a consideration of some amiable or some pleasant qualities which in his private life their former friend may happen to possess, they add, to the praise of their wisdom and firmness, the merit of great tenderness of heart, and humanity of disposition.

On their ideas, the new Whig party have, in my opinion, acted as became them. The author of the *Reflections*, however, on his part, cannot, without great shame to himself, and without entailing everlasting disgrace on his posterity, admit the truth or justice of the charges which have been made upon him ; or allow that he has in those *Reflections* discovered any principles to which honest men are bound to declare, not a shade or two of dissent, but a total fundamental opposition. He must believe, if he does not mean wilfully to abandon his cause and his reputation, that principles fundamentally at variance with those of his book, are fundamentally false. What those principles, the antipodes to his, really are, he can only discover from that contrariety. He is very unwilling to suppose, that the doctrines of some books lately circulated are the principles of the party ; though, from the vehement declarations against his opinions, he is at some loss how to judge otherwise.

For the present, my plan does not render it necessary to say any thing further concerning the merits

rits either of the one set of opinions or the other. The author would have discussed the merits of both in his place, but he was not permitted to do so.

I pass to the next head of charge, Mr. Burke's inconsistency. It is certainly a great aggravation of his fault in embracing false opinions, that in doing so he is not supposed to fill up a void, but that he is guilty of a dereliction of opinions that are true and laudable. This is the great gift of the charge against him. It is not so much that he is wrong in his book (that however is alledged also) as that he has therein belyed his whole life. I believe, if he could venture to value himself upon any thing, it is on the virtue of consistency that he would value himself the most. Strip him of this, and you leave him naked indeed.

In the case of any man who had written something, and spoken a great deal, upon very multifarious matter, during upwards of twenty-five years public service, and in as great a variety of important events as perhaps have ever happened in the same number of years, it would appear a little hard, in order to charge such a man with inconsistency, to see collected by his friend, a sort of digest of his sayings, even to such as were merely sportive and jocular. This digest, however, has been made, with equal pains and partiality, and without bringing out those passages of his writings which might tend to shew with what restrictions any expressions, quoted from him, ought to have been understood. From a great statesman he did not quite expect this mode of inquisition. If it only appeared in the works of common pamphleteers, Mr. Burke might safely trust to his reputation. When thus urged, he ought, perhaps, to do a little more. It shall be as little as possible, for I hope not much is wanting. To be totally silent on his charges

charges would not be respectful to Mr. Fox. Accusations sometimes derive a weight from the persons who make them, to which they are not entitled from their matter.

He who thinks, that the British constitution ought to consist of the three members, of three very different natures, of which it does actually consist, and thinks it his duty to preserve each of those members in its proper place, and with its proper proportion of power, must (as each shall happen to be attacked) vindicate the three several parts on the several principles peculiarly belonging to them. He cannot assert the democratic part on the principles on which monarchy is supported; nor can he support monarchy on the principles of democracy; nor can he maintain aristocracy on the grounds of the one or of the other, or of both. All these he must support on grounds that are totally different, though practically they may be, and happily with us they are, brought into one harmonious body. A man could not be consistent in defending such various, and, at first view, discordant parts of a mixed constitution, without that sort of inconsistency with which Mr. Burke stands charged.

As any one of the great members of this constitution happens to be endangered, he that is a friend to all of them chooses and presses the topics necessary for the support of the part attacked, with all the strength, the earnestness, the vehemence, with all the power of stating, of argument, and of colouring, which he happens to possess, and which the case demands. He is not to embarrass the minds of his hearers, or to encumber, or overlay his speech, by bringing into view at once (as if he were reading an academic lecture) all that may and ought, when a just occasion presents itself, to be said in favour of the other members. At that time they are out of the court; there is no question concerning them.

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Whilst he opposes his defence on the part where the attack is made, he presumes, that for his regard to the just rights of all the rest, he has credit in every candid mind. He ought not to apprehend, that his raising fences about popular privileges this day, will infer that he ought, on the next, to concur with those who would pull down the throne ; because on the next he defends the throne, it ought not to be supposed that he has abandoned the rights of the people.

A man who, among various objects of his equal regard, is secure of some, and full of anxiety for the fate of others, is apt to go to much greater lengths in his preference of the objects of his immediate solicitude than Mr. Burke has ever done. A man so circumstanced often seems to undervalue, to vilify, almost to reprobate and disown, those that are out of danger. This is the voice of nature and truth, and not of inconsistency and false pretence. The danger of any thing very dear to us, removes, for the moment, every other affection from the mind. When Priam had his whole thoughts employed on the body of his Hector, he repels with indignation, and drives from him with a thousand reproaches, his surviving sons, who with an officious piety crowded about him to offer their assistance. A good critic (there is no better than Mr. Fox) would say, that this is a master-stroke, and marks a deep understanding of nature in the father of poetry. He would despise a Zoilus, who would conclude from this passage that Homer meant to represent this man of affliction as hating or being indifferent and cold in his affections to the poor reliques of his house, or that he preferred a dead carcase to his living children.

Mr. Burke does not stand in need of an allowance of this kind, which, if he did, by candid critics ought to be granted to him. If the principles of a mixed constitution

constitution be admitted, he wants no more to justify to consistency every thing he has said and done during the course of a political life just touching to its close. I believe that gentleman has kept himself more clear of running into the fashion of wild visionary theories; or of seeking popularity through every means, than any man perhaps ever did in the same situation.

He was the first man who, on the hustings, at a popular election, rejected the authority of instructions from constituents; or who, in any place, has argued so fully against it. Perhaps the discredit into which that doctrine of compulsive instructions under our constitution is since fallen, may be due, in a great degree, to his opposing himself to it in that manner, and on that occasion.

The reforms in representation, and the bills for shortening the duration of parliaments, he uniformly and steadily opposed for many years together, in contradiction to many of his best friends. These friends, however, in his better days, when they had more to hope from his service and more to fear from his loss than now they have, never chose to find any inconsistency between his acts and expressions in favour of liberty, and his votes on those questions. But there is a time for all things.

Against the opinion of many friends, even against the solicitation of some of them, he opposed those of the church clergy, who had petitioned the House of Commons to be discharged from the subscription. Although he supported the dissenters in their petition for the indulgence which he had refused to the clergy of the established church, in this, as he was not guilty of it, so he was not reproached with inconsistency. At the same time he promoted, and against the wish of several, the clause that gave the dissenting teachers another subscription in the

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place of that which was then taken away. Neither at that time was the reproach of inconsistency brought against him. People could then distinguish between a difference in conduct, under a variation of circumstances, and an inconsistency in principle. It was not then thought necessary to be freed of him as of an incumbrance.

These instances, a few among many, are produced as an answer to the insinuation of his having pursued high popular courses, which in his late book he has abandoned. Perhaps in his whole life he has never omitted a fair occasion, with whatever risque to him of obloquy as an individual, with whatever detriment to his interest as a member of opposition, to assert the very same doctrines which appear in that book. He told the House, upon an important occasion, and pretty early in his service, that "being warned by the ill effect of a contrary procedure in great examples, he had taken his ideas of liberty very low; in order that they should stick to him, and that he might stick to them to the end of his life."

At popular elections the most rigorous casuists will remit a little of their severity. They will allow to a candidate some unqualified effusions in favour of freedom, without binding him to adhere to them in their utmost extent. But Mr. Burke put a more strict rule upon himself than most moralists would put upon others. At his first offering himself to Bristol, where he was almost sure he should not obtain, on that or any occasion, a single Tory vote, (in fact he did obtain but one) and rested wholly on the Whig interest, he thought himself bound to tell to the electors, both before and after his election, exactly what a representative they had to expect in him.

"The *distinguishing* part of our constitution (he said)

“ said) is its liberty. To preserve that liberty in-
 “ violate, is the *peculiar* duty and *proper* trust of a
 “ member of the house of commons. But the li-
 “ berty, the *only* liberty I mean, is a liberty con-
 “ nected with *order*, and that not only exists *with*
 “ order and virtue, but cannot exist at all *without*
 “ them. It inheres in good and steady govern-
 “ ment, as in *its substance and vital principle*.”

The liberty to which Mr. Burke declared him-
 self attached, is not French liberty. That liberty
 is nothing but the rein given to vice and confusion.
 Mr. Burke was then, as he was at the writing of his
 Reflections, awfully impressed with the difficulties
 arising from the complex state of our constitution
 and our empire, and that it might require, in dif-
 ferent emergencies different sorts of exertions, and
 the successive call upon all the various principles
 which uphold and justify it. This will appear from
 what he said at the close of the poll.—

“ To be a good member of parliament is, let me
 “ tell you, no easy task; especially at this time,
 “ when there is so strong a disposition to run into
 “ the perilous extremes of *servile* compliance, or
 “ *wild popularity*. To unite circumspection with
 “ vigour, is absolutely necessary; but it is extreme-
 “ ly difficult. We are now members for a rich
 “ commercial *city*; this city, however, is but a part
 “ of a rich commercial *nation*, the interests of which
 “ are *various, multiform, and intricate*. We are
 “ members for that great *nation* which, however, is
 “ itself but part of a great *empire*, extended by our
 “ virtue and our fortune to the farthest limits of
 “ the east and of the west. *All* these wide-spread
 “ interests must be *considered*; must be *compared*;
 “ must be *reconciled*, if possible. We are members
 “ for a *free* country; and surely we all know that
 “ the machine of a free constitution is no *simple*
 “ thing;

“ thing ; but as *intricate* and as *delicate*, as it is
 “ valuable. We are members in a *great and an-*
 “ *tient* MONARCHY ; and we must *preserve religiously*
 “ *the true legal rights of the sovereign, which form the*
 “ *key-stone that binds together the noble and well-*
 “ *constructed arch of our empire and our constitution.*
 “ A constitution made up of *balanced powers*, must
 “ ever be a critical thing. As such I mean to touch
 “ that part of it which comes within my reach.”

In this manner Mr. Burke spoke to his constituents seventeen years ago. He spoke, not like a partizan of one particular member of our constitution, but as a person strongly, and on principle, attached to them all. He thought these great and essential members ought to be preserved, and preserved each in its place ; and that the monarchy ought not only to be secured in its peculiar existence, but in its pre-eminence too, as the presiding and connecting principle of the whole. Let it be considered, whether the language of his book, printed in 1790, differs from his speech at Bristol in 1774.

With equal justice his opinions on the American war are introduced, as if in his late work he had belied his conduct and opinions in the debates which arose upon that great event. On the American war he never had any opinions which he has seen occasion to retract, or which he has ever retracted. He indeed differs essentially from Mr. Fox as to the cause of that war. Mr. Fox has been pleased to say, that the Americans rebelled, ‘because they thought ‘they had not enjoyed liberty enough.’ This cause of the war *from him* I have heard of for the first time. It is true that those who stimulated the nation to that measure, did frequently urge this topic. They contended, that the Americans had from the beginning aimed at independence ; that from the beginning

ning they meant wholly to throw off the authority of the crown, and to break their connection with the parent country. This Mr. Burke never believed. When he moved his second conciliatory proposition in the year 1776, he entered into the discussion of this point at very great length; and from nine several heads of presumption, endeavored to prove the charge upon that people not to be true.

If the principles of all he has said and wrote on the occasion, be viewed with common temper, the gentlemen of the party will perceive, that on a supposition that the Americans had rebelled merely in order to enlarge their liberty, Mr. Burke would have thought very differently of the American cause. What might have been in the secret thoughts of some of their leaders it is impossible to say. As far as a man, so locked up as Dr. Franklin, could be expected to communicate his ideas, I believe he opened them to Mr. Burke. It was, I think, the very day before he set out for America, that a very long conversation passed between them, and with a greater air of openness on the Doctor's side, than Mr. Burke had observed in him before. In this discourse Dr. Franklin lamented, and with apparent sincerity, the separation which he feared was inevitable between Great Britain and her colonies. He certainly spoke of it as an event which gave him the greatest concern. America, he said, would never again see such happy days as she had passed under the protection of England. He observed, that ours was the only instance of a great empire, in which the most distant parts and members had been as well governed as the metropolis and its vicinage: But that the Americans were going to lose the means which secured to them this rare and precious advantage. The question with them was not whether they were to remain as they had been before the troubles, for better, he allowed they could not hope to be;

but whether they were to give up so happy a situation without a struggle? Mr. Burke had several other conversations with him about that time, in none of which, soured and exasperated as his mind certainly was, did he discover any other wish in favour of America than for a security to its *ancient* condition. Mr. Burke's conversation with other Americans was large indeed, and his enquiries extensive and diligent. Trusting to the result of all these means of information, but trusting much more in the public presumptive indications I have just referred to, and to the reiterated solemn declarations of their assemblies, he always firmly believed that they were purely on the defensive in that rebellion. He considered the Americans as standing at that time, and in that controversy, in the same relation to England, as England did to king James the Second, in 1688. He believed, that they had taken up arms from one motive only; that is our attempting to tax them without their consent; to tax them for the purposes of maintaining civil and military establishments. If this attempt of ours could have been practically established, he thought with them, that their assemblies would become totally useless; that under the system of policy which was then pursued, the Americans could have no sort of security for their laws or liberties, or for any part of them; and, that the very circumstance of *our* freedom would have augmented the weight of *their* slavery.

Considering the Americans on that defensive footing, he thought Great Britain ought instantly to have closed with them by the repeal of the taxing act. He was of opinion that our general rights over that country would have been preserved by this timely concession*. When, instead of this,

* See his speech on American taxation, the 19th of April, 1774.

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a Boston port bill, a Massachuset's charter bill, a Fishery bill, an Intercourse bill, I know not how many hostile bills rushed out like so many tempests from all points of the compass, and were accompanied first with great fleets and armies of English, and followed afterwards with great bodies of foreign troops, he thought that their cause grew daily better, because daily more defensive; and that ours, because daily more offensive, grew daily worse. He therefore in two motions, in two successive years, proposed in parliament many concessions beyond what he had reason to think in the beginning of the troubles would ever be seriously demanded.

So circumstanced, he certainly never could and never did wish the colonists to be subdued by arms. He was fully persuaded, that if such should be the event, they must be held in that subdued state by a great body of standing forces, and perhaps of foreign forces. He was strongly of opinion, that such armies, first victorious over Englishmen, in a conflict for English constitutional rights and privileges, and afterwards habituated (though in America) to keep an English people in a state of abject subjection, would prove fatal in the end to the liberties of England itself; that in the mean time this military system would lie as an oppressive burthen upon the national finances; that it would constantly breed and feed new discussions, full of heat and acrimony, leading possibly to a new series of wars; and that foreign powers, whilst we continued in a state at once burthened and distracted, must at length obtain a decided superiority over us. On what part of his late publication, or on what expression that might have escaped him in that work, is any man authorized to charge Mr. Burke with a contradiction to the line of his conduct, and to the current of his doctrines on the American

war? The pamphlet is in the hands of his accusers, let them point out the passage if they can.

Indeed, the author has been well sifted and scrutinized by his friends. He is even called to an account for every jocular and light expression. A ludicrous picture which he made with regard to a passage in the speech of a * late minister, has been brought up against him. That passage contained a lamentation for the loss of monarchy to the Americans, after they had separated from Great Britain. He thought it to be unseasonable, ill judged, and ill sorted with the circumstances of all the parties. Mr. Burke, it seems, considered it ridiculous to lament the loss of some monarch or other, to a rebel people, at the moment they had for ever quitted their allegiance to theirs and our sovereign; at the time when they had broken off all connexion with this nation, and had allied themselves with its enemies. He certainly must have thought it open to ridicule: and, now that it is recalled to his memory, (he had, I believe, wholly forgotten the circumstance) he recollects that he did treat it with some levity. But is it a fair inference from a jest on this unseasonable lamentation, that he was then an enemy to monarchy either in this or in any other country? The contrary perhaps ought to be inferred, if any thing at all can be argued from pleasantries good or bad. Is it for this reason, or for any thing he has said or done relative to the American war, that he is to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with every rebellion, in every country, under every circumstance, and raised upon whatever pretence? Is it because he did not wish the Americans to be subdued by arms, that he must be inconsistent with himself, if he reprobates the conduct of those so-

• Lord Lansdown.

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cieties in England, who alledging no one act of tyranny or oppression, and complaining of no hostile attempt against our antient laws, rights, and usages, are now endeavouring to work the destruction of the crown of this kingdom, and the whole of its constitution? Is he obliged, from the concessions he wished to be made to the colonies, to keep any terms with those clubs and federations, who hold out to us as a pattern for imitation, the proceedings in France, in which a king, who had voluntarily and formally divested himself of the right of taxation, and of all other species of arbitrary power, has been dethroned? — Is it because Mr. Burke wished to have America rather conciliated than vanquished, that he must wish well to the army of republics which are set up in France; a country wherein not the people, but the monarch was wholly on the defensive (a poor, indeed, and feeble defensive) to preserve *some fragments* of the royal authority against a determined and desperate body of conspirators, whose object it was, with whatever certainty of crimes, with whatever hazard of war and every other species of calamity, to annihilate the *whole* of that authority; to level all ranks, orders, and distinctions in the state; and utterly to destroy property, not more by their acts than in their principles?

Mr. Burke has been also reproached with an inconsistency between his late writings and his former conduct, because he had proposed in parliament several oeconomical, leading to several constitutional reforms. Mr. Burke thought, with a majority of the House of Commons, that the influence of the crown at one time was too great; but after his Majesty had by a gracious message, and several subsequent acts of parliament, reduced it to a standard which satisfied Mr. Fox himself, and, apparently at least, contented whoever wished to go farthest in that reduction, is Mr. Burke to allow that it would be right for

for us to proceed to indefinite lengths upon that subject? that it would therefore be justifiable in a people owing allegiance to a monarchy, and professing to maintain it, not to *reduce*, but wholly to *take away all* prerogative, and *all* influence whatsoever?—Must his having made, in virtue of a plan of oeconomic regulation, a reduction of the influence of the crown, compel him to allow, that it would be right in the French or in us to bring a king to so abject a state, as in function not to be so respectable as an under sheriff, but in person not to differ from the condition of a mere prisoner? One would think that such a thing as a medium had never been heard of in the moral world.

This mode of arguing from your having done *any* thing in a certain line, to the necessity of doing *every* thing, has political consequences of other moment than those of a logical fallacy. If no man can propose any diminution or modification of an invidious or dangerous power or influence in government, without entitling friends turned into adversaries, to argue him into the destruction of all prerogative, and to a spoliation of the whole patronage of royalty, I do not know what can more effectually deter persons of sober minds from engaging in any reform; nor how the worst enemies to the liberty of the subject could contrive any method more fit to bring all correctives on the power of the crown into suspicion and disrepute.

If, say his accusers, the dread of too great influence in the crown of Great Britain could justify the degree of reform which he adopted, the dread of a return under the despotism of a monarchy might justify the people of France in going much further, and reducing monarchy to its present nothing. Mr. Burke does not allow, that a sufficient argument *ad hominem* is inferable from these premises. If the horror of the excesses of an absolute monarchy furnishes a reason for abolishing

abolishing it, no monarchy once absolute (all have been so at one period or other) could ever be limited. It must be destroyed; otherwise no way could be found to quiet the fears of those who were formerly subjected to that sway. But the principle of Mr. Burke's proceeding ought to lead him to a very different conclusion;—to this conclusion,—that a monarchy is a thing perfectly susceptible of reform; perfectly susceptible of a balance of power; and that, when reformed and balanced, for a great country, it is the best of all governments. The example of our country might have led France, as it has led him, to perceive that monarchy is not only reconcilable to liberty, but that it may be rendered a great and stable security to its perpetual enjoyment. No correctives which he proposed to the power of the crown could lead him to approve of a plan of a republic (if so it may be reputed) which has no correctives, and which he believes to be incapable of admitting any. No principle of Mr. Burke's conduct or writings obliged him, from consistency, to become an advocate for an exchange of mischiefs; no principle of his could compel him to justify the setting up in the place of a mitigated monarchy, a new and far more despotic power, under which there is no trace of liberty, except what appears in confusion and in crime.

Mr. Burke does not admit that the faction predominant in France have abolished their monarchy and the orders of their state, from any dread of arbitrary power that lay heavy on the minds of the people. It is not very long since he has been in that country. Whilst there he conversed with many descriptions of its inhabitants. A few persons of rank did, he allows, discover strong and manifest tokens of such a spirit of liberty, as might be expected one day to break all bounds. Such gentlemen have since

since had more reason to repent of their want of foresight than I hope any of the same class will ever have in this country. But this spirit was far from general even amongst the gentlemen. As to the lower orders and those a little above them, in whose name the present powers domineer, they were far from discovering any sort of dissatisfaction with the power and prerogatives of the crown. That vain people were rather proud of them: they rather despised the English for not having a monarch possessed of such high and perfect authority. *They* had felt nothing from *Lettres de Cachet*. The Bastille could inspire no horrors into *them*. This was a treat for their betters. It was by art and impulse; it was by the sinister use made of a season of scarcity; it was under an infinitely diversified succession of wicked pretences, wholly foreign to the question of monarchy or aristocracy, that this light people were inspired with their present spirit of levelling. Their old vanity was led by art to take another turn: It was dazzled and seduced by military liveries, cockades, and epaulets, until the French populace was led to become the willing, but still the proud and thoughtless instrument and victim of another domination. Neither did that people despise, or hate, or fear their nobility. On the contrary, they valued themselves on the generous qualities which distinguished the chiefs of their nation.

So far as to the attack on Mr. Burke, in consequence of his reforms.

To shew that he has in his last publication abandoned those principles of liberty which have given energy to his youth, and in spite of his censurs will afford repose and consolation to his declining age, those who have thought proper in parliament to declare against his book, ought to have produced something in it, which directly.

rectly or indirectly militates with any rational plan of free government. It is something extraordinary, that they whose memories have so well served them with regard to light and ludicrous expressions which years had consigned to oblivion, should not have been able to quote a single passage in a piece so lately published, which contradicts any thing he has formerly ever said in a style either ludicrous or serious. They quote his former speeches, and his former votes, but not one syllable from the book. It is only by a collation of the one with the other that the alledged inconsistency can be established. But as they are unable to cite any such contradictory passage, so neither can they shew any thing in the general tendency and spirit of the whole work unfavourable to a rational and generous spirit of liberty; unless a warm opposition to the spirit of levelling, to the spirit of impiety, to the spirit of proscription, plunder, murder, and cannibalism, be adverse to the true principles of freedom.

The author of that book is supposed to have passed from extreme to extreme; but he has always kept himself in a medium. This charge is not so wonderful. It is in the nature of things, that they who are in the centre of a circle should appear directly opposed to those who view them from any part of the circumference. In that middle point, however, he will still remain, though he may hear people who themselves run beyond Aurora and the Ganges, cry out, that he is at the extremity of the west.

In the same debate Mr. Burke was represented as arguing in a manner which implied that the British constitution could not be defended, but by abusing all republics antient and modern. He said nothing to give the least ground for such a censure. He never abused all republics. He has never professed himself a friend or an enemy to republics or
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to monarchies in the abstract. He thought that the circumstances and habits of every country, which it is always perilous and productive of the greatest calamities to force, are to decide upon the form of its government. There is nothing in his nature, his temper, or his faculties, which should make him an enemy to any republic modern or antient. Far from it. He has studied the form and spirit of republics very early in life; he has studied them with great attention; and with a mind undisturbed by affection or prejudice. He is indeed convinced that the science of government would be poorly cultivated without that study. But the result in his mind from that investigation has been, and is, that neither England nor France, without infinite detriment to them, as well in the event as in the experiment, could be brought into a republican form; but that every thing republican which can be introduced with safety into either of them, must be built upon a monarchy; built upon a real, not a nominal monarchy, *as its essential basis*; that all such institutions, whether aristocratic or democratic, must originate from their crown, and in all their proceedings must refer to it; that by the energy of that main spring alone those republican parts must be set in action, and from thence must derive their whole legal effect, (as amongst us they actually do) or the whole will fall into confusion. These republican members have no other point but the crown in which they can possibly unite.

This is the opinion expressed in Mr. Burke's book. He has never varied in that opinion since he came to years of discretion. But surely, if at any time of his life he had entertained other notions, (which however he has never held or professed to hold) the horrible calamities brought upon a great people, by the wild attempt to force their country into a republick, might be more than sufficient to undeceive

undeceive his understanding, and to free it for ever from such destructive fancies. He is certain, that many, even in France, have been made sick of their theories by their very success in realizing them.

To fortify the imputation of a desertion from his principles, his constant attempts to reform abuses, have been brought forward. It is true, it has been the business of his strength to reform abuses in government ; and his last feeble efforts are employed in a struggle against them. Politically he has lived in that element ; politically he will die in it. Before he departs, I will admit for him, that he deserves to have all his titles of merit brought forth, as they have been, for grounds of condemnation, if one word, justifying or supporting abuses of any sort, is to be found in that book which has kindled so much indignation in the mind of a great man. On the contrary, it spares no existing abuse. Its very purpose is to make war with abuses ; not, indeed, to make war with the dead, but with those which live, and flourish, and reign.

The *purpose* for which the abuses of government are brought into view, forms a very material consideration in the mode of treating them. The complaints of a friend are things very different from the invectives of an enemy. The charge of abuses on the late monarchy of France, was not intended to lead to its reformation, but to justify its destruction. They who have raked into all history for the faults of kings, and who have aggravated every fault they have found, have acted consistently ; because they acted as enemies. No man can be a friend to a tempered monarchy who bears a decided hatred to monarchy itself. He who, at the present time, is favourable, or even fair to that system, must act towards it as towards a friend with frailties, who is under the prosecution
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of implacable foes. I think it a duty in that case, not to inflame the public mind against the obnoxious person, by any exaggeration of his faults. It is our duty rather to palliate his errors and defects, or to cast them into the shade, and industriously to bring forward any good qualities that he may happen to possess. But when the man is to be amended, and by amendment to be preserved, then the line of duty takes another direction. When his safety is effectually provided for, it then becomes the office of a friend to urge his faults and vices with all the energy of enlightened affection, to paint them in their most vivid colours, and to bring the moral patient to a better habit. Thus I think with regard to individuals; thus I think with regard to ancient and respected governments and orders of men. A spirit of reformation is never more consistent with itself, than when it refuses to be rendered the means of destruction.

I suppose that enough is said upon these heads of accusation. One more I had nearly forgotten, but I shall soon dispatch it. The author of the Reflections, in the opening of the last parliament, entered on the Journals of the House of Commons a motion for a remonstrance to the crown, which is substantially a defence of the preceding parliament, that had been dissolved under displeasure. It is a defence of Mr. Fox. It is a defence of the Whigs. By what connection of argument, by what association of ideas, this apology for Mr. Fox and his party is, by him and them, brought to criminate his and their apologist, I cannot easily divine. It is true, that Mr. Burke received no previous encouragement from Mr. Fox, nor any the least countenance or support at the time when the motion was made, from him or from any gentleman of the party, one only excepted, from whose friendship, on that and on other occasions, he derives an honour
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to which he must be dull indeed to be insensible *. If that remonstrance therefore was a false or feeble defence of the measures of the party, they were in no wise affected by it. It stands on the Journals. This secures to it a permanence which the author cannot expect to any other work of his. Let it speak for itself to the present age, and to all posterity. The party had no concern in it; and it can never be quoted against them. But in the late debate it was produced, not to clear the party from an improper defence in which they had no share, but for the kind purpose of insinuating an inconsistency between the principles of Mr. Burke's defence of the dissolved parliament, and those on which he proceeded in his late *Reflections on France*.

It requires great ingenuity to make out such a parallel between the two cases, as to found a charge of inconsistency in the principles assumed in arguing the one and the other. What relation had Mr. Fox's India bill to the constitution of France? What relation had that constitution to the question of right, in an house of commons, to give or to withhold its confidence from ministers, and to state that opinion to the crown? What had this discussion to do with Mr. Burke's idea in 1784, of the ill consequences which must in the end arise to the crown from setting up the commons at large as an opposite interest to the commons in parliament? What has this discussion to do with a recorded warning to the people, of their rashly forming a precipitate judgment against their representatives? What had Mr. Burke's opinion of the danger of introducing new theoretic language unknown to the records of the kingdom, and calculated to excite vexatious questions, into a parliamentary proceed-

* Mr. Windham.

ing, to do with the French assembly, which defies all precedent, and places its whole glory in realizing what had been thought the most visionary theories? What had this in common with the abolition of the French monarchy, or with the principles upon which the English revolution was justified; a revolution in which parliament, in all its acts and all its declarations, religiously adheres to 'the form of sound words,' without excluding from private discussions, such terms of art as may serve to conduct an inquiry for which none but private persons are responsible? These were the topics of Mr. Burke's proposed remonstrance; all of which topics suppose the existence and mutual relation of our three estates; as well as the relation of the East India Company to the crown, to parliament, and to the peculiar laws, rights, and usages of the people of Hindostan? What reference, I say, had these topics to the constitution of France, in which there is no king, no lords, no commons, no India company to injure, or support, no Indian empire to govern or oppress? What relation had all or any of these, or any question which could arise between the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of parliament, with the censure of those factious persons in Great Britain, whom Mr. Burke states to be engaged, not in favour of privilege against prerogative, or of prerogative against privilege, but in an open attempt against our crown and our parliament; against our constitution in church and state; against all the parts and orders which compose the one and the other?

No persons were more fiercely active against Mr. Fox, and against the measures of the house of commons dissolved in 1784, which Mr. Burke defends in that remonstrance, than several of those revolution-makers, whom Mr. Burke condemns alike
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in his remonstrance, and in his book. These revolutionists indeed may be well thought to vary in their conduct. He is, however, far from accusing them, in this variation, of the smallest degree of inconsistency. He is persuaded, that they are totally indifferent at which end they begin the demolition of the constitution.—Some are for commencing their operations with the destruction of the civil powers; in order the better to pull down the ecclesiastical; some wish to begin with the ecclesiastical, in order to facilitate the ruin of the civil; some would destroy the house of commons through the crown; some the crown through the house of commons; and some would overturn both the one and the other through what they call the people. But I believe that this injured writer will think it not at all inconsistent with his present duty, or with his former life, strenuously to oppose all the various partizans of destruction, let them begin where, or when, or how they will. No man would set his face more determinedly against those who should attempt to deprive them, or any description of men, of the rights they possess. No man would be more steady in preventing them from abusing those rights to the destruction of that happy order under which they enjoy them. As to their title to any thing further, it ought to be grounded on the proof they give of the safety with which power may be trusted in their hands. When they attempt without disguise, not to win it from our affections, but to force it from our fears, they shew, in the character of their means of obtaining it, the use they would make of their dominion. That writer is too well read in men, not to know how often the desire and design of a tyrannic domination lurks in the claim of an extravagant liberty. Perhaps in the beginning it *always* displays itself in that manner. No man has ever affected

power which he did not hope from the favour of the existing government, in any other mode.

The attacks on the author's consistency relative to France, are (however grievous they may be to his feelings) in a great degree external to him and to us, and comparatively of little moment to the people of England. The substantial charge upon him is concerning his doctrines relative to the Revolution of 1688. Here it is, that they who speak in the name of the party have thought proper to censure him the most loudly, and with the greatest asperity. Here they fasten; and, if they are right in their fact, with sufficient judgment in their selection. If he be guilty in this point he is equally blameable, whether he is consistent or not. If he endeavours to delude his countrymen by a false representation of the spirit of that leading event, and of the true nature and tenure of the government formed in consequence of it, he is deeply responsible; he is an enemy to the free constitution of the kingdom. But he is not guilty in any sense. I maintain that in his *Reflections* he has stated the Revolution and the settlement upon their true principles of legal reason and constitutional policy.

His authorities are the acts and declarations of parliament given in their proper words. So far as these go, nothing can be added to what he has quoted. The question is, whether he has understood them rightly. I think they speak plain enough. But we must now see whether he proceeds with other authority than his own constructions; and if he does, on what sort of authority he proceeds. In this part, his defence will not be made by argument, but by wager of law. He takes his compurgators, his vouchers, his guarantees, along with him. I know, that he will not be satisfied with a justification proceeding on general reasons of policy. He must be

be defended on party grounds too; or his cause is not so tenable as I wish it to appear. It must be made out for him, not only, that in his construction of these public acts and monuments he conforms himself to the rules of fair, legal, and logical interpretation; but it must be proved that his construction is in perfect harmony with that of the ancient Whigs, to whom, against the sentence of the modern, on his part, I here appeal.

This July, it will be twenty-six years* since he became connected with a man whose memory will ever be precious to Englishmen of all parties, as long as the ideas of honour and virtue, public and private, are understood and cherished in this nation. That memory will be kept alive with particular veneration by all rational and honourable Whigs. Mr. Burke entered into a connexion with that party, through that man, at an age, far from raw and immature; at those years when men are all they are ever likely to become; when he was in the prime and vigour of his life; when the powers of his understanding, according to their standard, were at the best; his memory exercised; his judgment formed; and his reading, much fresher in the recollection, and much readier in the application, than now it is. He was at that time as likely as most men to know what were Whig and what were Tory principles. He was in a situation to discern what sort of Whig principles they entertained, with whom it was his wish to form an eternal connexion. Foolish he would have been at that time of life (more foolish than any man who undertakes a public trust would be thought) to adhere to a cause, which he, amongst all those who were engaged in it, had the least sanguine hopes of, as a road to power.

* July 17th 1765.

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There are who remember, that on the removal of the Whigs in the year 1766, he was as free to choose another connexion as any man in the kingdom. To put himself out of the way of the negotiations which were then carrying on very eagerly, and through many channels, with the Earl of Chatham, he went to Ireland very soon after the change of ministry, and did not return until the meeting of parliament. He was at that time free from any thing which looked like an engagement. He was further free at the desire of his friends; for the very day of his return, the Marquis of Rockingham wished him to accept an employment under the new system. He believes he might have had such a situation; but again he cheerfully took his fate with the party.

It would be a serious imputation upon the prudence of my friend, to have made even such trivial sacrifices as it was in his power to make, for principles which he did not truly embrace, or did not perfectly understand. In either case the folly would have been great. The question now is, whether, when he first practically professed Whig principles, he understood what principles he professed; and whether, in his book, he has faithfully expressed them.

When he entered into the Whig party, he did not conceive that they pretended to any discoveries. They did not affect to be better Whigs, than those were who lived in the days in which principle was put to the test. Some of the Whigs of those days were then living. They were what the Whigs had been at the Revolution; what they had been during the reign of queen Anne; what they had been at the accession of the present royal family.

What they were at those periods is to be seen. It rarely happens to a party to have the opportunity of a clear,

clear, authentic, recorded, declaration of their political tenets upon the subject of a great constitutional event like that of the Revolution. The Whigs had that opportunity, or, to speak more properly, they made it. The impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel was undertaken by a Whig Ministry and a Whig House of Commons, and carried on before a prevalent and steady majority of Whig Peers. It was carried on for the express purpose of stating the true grounds and principles of the Revolution; what the Commons emphatically called their *foundation*. It was carried on for the purpose of condemning the principles on which the Revolution was first opposed, and afterwards calumniated, in order by a juridical sentence of the highest authority to confirm and fix Whig principles, as they had operated both in the resistance to King James, and in the subsequent settlement; and to fix them in the extent and with the limitations with which it was meant they should be understood by posterity. The ministers and managers for the Commons were persons who had, many of them, an active share in the Revolution. Most of them had seen it at an age capable of reflection. The grand event, and all the discussions which led to it, and followed it, were then alive in the memory and conversation of all men. The managers for the Commons must be supposed to have spoken on that subject the prevalent ideas of the leading party in the Commons, and of the Whig ministry. Undoubtedly they spoke also their own private opinions; and the private opinions of such men are not without weight. They were not *umbratiles doctores*, men who had studied a free constitution only in its anatomy, and upon dead systems. They knew it alive and in action.

In this proceeding, the Whig principles, as applied to the Revolution and settlement, are to be

found, or they are to be found no where. I wish the Whig readers of this appeal first to turn to Mr. Burke's Reflections from p. 20 to p. 50; and then to attend to the following extracts from the trial of Dr. Sacheverel. After this, they will consider two things; first, whether the doctrine in Mr. Burke's Reflections be consonant to that of the Whigs of that period; and secondly, whether they choose to abandon the principles which belonged to the progenitors of some of them, and to the predecessors of them all, and to learn new principles of Whiggism, imported from France, and disseminated in this country from dissenting pulpits, from federation societies, and from the pamphlets, which (as containing the political creed of those synods) are industriously circulated in all parts of the two kingdoms. This is their affair, and they will make their option.

These new Whigs hold, that the sovereignty, whether exercised by one or many, did not only originate *from* the people (a position not denied, nor worth denying or assenting to) but that, in the people the same sovereignty constantly and unalienably resides; that the people may lawfully depose kings, not only for misconduct, but without any misconduct at all; that they may set up any new fashion of government for themselves, or continue without any government at their pleasure; that the people are essentially their own rule, and their will the measure of their conduct; that the tenure of magistracy is not a proper subject of contract; because magistrates have duties, but no rights: and that if a contract *de facto* is made with them in one age, allowing that it binds at all, it only binds those who were immediately concerned in it, but does not pass to posterity. These doctrines concerning the *people* (a term which they are far from accurately defining, but by which, from many circumstances, it is plain enough

enough they mean their own faction, if they should grow by early arming, by treachery, or violence, into the prevailing force) tend, in my opinion, to the utter subversion, not only of all government, in all modes, and to all stable securities to rational freedom, but to all the rules and principles of morality itself.

I assert, that the ancient Whigs held doctrines, totally different from those I have last mentioned. I assert, that the foundations laid down by the Commons, on the trial of Doctor Sacheverel, for justifying the revolution of 1688, are the very same laid down in Mr. Burke's Reflections; that is to say, — a breach of the *original contract*, implied and expressed in the constitution of this country, as a scheme of government fundamentally and inviolably fixed in King, Lords, and Commons.—That the fundamental subversion of this ancient constitution, by one of its parts, having been attempted, and in effect accomplished, justified the Revolution. That it was justified *only* upon the *necessity* of the case; as the *only* means left for the recovery of that *ancient* constitution, formed by the *original contract* of the British state; as well as for the future preservation of the *same* government. These are the points to be proved.

A general opening to the charge against Dr. Sacheverel was made by the Attorney General, Sir John Montagu; but as there is nothing in that opening speech which tends very accurately to settle the principle upon which the Whigs proceeded in the prosecution (the plan of the speech not requiring it) I proceed to that of Mr. Lechmere, the manager who spoke next after him. The following are extracts, given, not in the exact order in which they stand in the printed trial, but in that which is thought most fit to bring the ideas of the Whig Commons distinctly under our view.

* MR. LECHMERE,

‘ It becomes an *indispensable* duty upon us, who
 ‘ appear in the name and on the behalf of all the
 ‘ Commons of Great Britain, not only to demand
 ‘ your lordships justice on such a criminal [Dr. Sa-
 ‘ cheverel] *but clearly and openly to assert our foun-*
 ‘ *dations.*’ — — —

That the
 terms of
 our consti-
 tution im-
 ply and ex-
 press an
 original
 contract.

That the
 contract is
 by mutual
 consent,
 and binding
 at all times
 upon the
 parties.

The mixed
 constitution
 uniformly
 preserved
 for many
 ages, and is
 a proof of
 the con-
 tract.

Laws the
 common
 measure
 to king and
 subject.

Case of
 fundamen-
 tal injury,
 and breach
 of original
 contract.

Words ne-
 cessary

‘ The nature of our constitution is that of a *li-*
 ‘ *imited monarchy*; wherein the supreme power is
 ‘ communicated and divided between Queen, Lords,
 ‘ and Commons; though the executive power and
 ‘ administration be wholly in the crown. The terms
 ‘ of such a constitution do not only suppose, but ex-
 ‘ press, an original contract between the crown and
 ‘ the people; by which that supreme power was
 ‘ (by mutual consent, and not by accident) limited,
 ‘ and lodged in more hands than one. And *the*
 ‘ *uniform preservation of such a constitution for so*
 ‘ *many ages, without any fundamental change, demon-*
 ‘ *strates to your lordships the continuance of the same*
 ‘ *contract.*’ — — —

‘ The consequences of such a frame of govern-
 ‘ ment are obvious. That the *laws* are the rule to
 ‘ both; the common measure of the power of the
 ‘ crown, and of the obedience of the subject; and
 ‘ if the executive part endeavours the *subversion and*
 ‘ *total destruction of the government*, the original con-
 ‘ tract is thereby broke, and the right of allegiance
 ‘ ceases; that part of the government, thus *funda-*
 ‘ *mentally* injured, hath a right to save or recover
 ‘ *that* constitution, in which it had an original in-
 ‘ *terest.*’ — — —

‘ The *necessary* means (which is the phrase used
 ‘ by the Commons in their first article) are words

* State Trials, vol. v. p. 651.

‘ made

‘ made choice of by them *with the greatest caution.* means selected with caution.
 ‘ Those means are described (in the preamble to
 ‘ their charge) to be, that glorious enterprize, which
 ‘ his late majesty undertook, with an armed force,
 ‘ to deliver this kingdom from popery and arbitrary
 ‘ power; the concurrence of many subjects of the
 ‘ realm, who came over with him in that enterprize,
 ‘ and of many others of *all ranks and orders*, who
 ‘ appeared in arms in many parts of the kingdom
 ‘ in aid of that enterprize.

‘ These were the *means* that brought about the
 ‘ Revolution; and which the act that passed soon
 ‘ after, *declaring the rights and liberties of the subject*,
 ‘ *and settling the succession of the crown*, intends,
 ‘ when his late majesty is therein called the *glorious*
 ‘ *instrument of delivering the kingdom*; and which the
 ‘ Commons, in the last part of their first article,
 ‘ exprefs by the word *resistance*.

‘ But the Commons, who will never be unmind- Regard of the Commons to their allegiance to the crown, and to the antient constitution.
 ‘ ful of the *allegiance* of the subjects to the *crown* of
 ‘ this realm, judged it highly incumbent upon
 ‘ them, out of regard to the *safety of her majesty’s*
 ‘ *person and government, and the antient and legal*
 ‘ *constitution of this kingdom*, to call that resistance
 ‘ the *necessary* means; thereby plainly founding that
 ‘ power, right, and resistance, which was exercised
 ‘ by the people at the time of the happy Revolution,
 ‘ and which the duties of *self-preservation* and
 ‘ religion called them to, *upon the NECESSITY*
 ‘ *of the case, and at the same time effectually securing*
 ‘ *her majesty’s government, and the due allegiance of*
 ‘ *all her subjects.* — — —

‘ The nature of such an *original contract* of go- All ages have the same interest in preservation of the contract, and the same constitution.
 ‘ vernment proves, that there is not only a power
 ‘ in the people, who have *inherited this freedom*, to
 ‘ assert their own title to it; but they are bound in
 ‘ duty to transmit the *same constitution* to their pos-
 ‘ terity also.’

Mr.

Mr. Lechmere made a second speech. Notwithstanding the clear and satisfactory manner in which he delivered himself in his first upon this arduous question, he thinks himself bound again distinctly to assert the same foundation; and to justify the Revolution on the *case of necessity only*, upon principles perfectly coinciding with those laid down in Mr. Burke's Letter on the French affairs.

MR. LECHMERE.

‘ Your lordships were acquainted, in opening the charge, with how *great caution*, and with what unfeigned regard to her majesty and her government, and the *duty and allegiance* of her subjects, the commons made use of the words *necessary means*, to express the resistance that was made use of to bring about the Revolution, and with the condemning of which the Doctor is charged by this article; not doubting but that the honour and justice of that resistance, *from the necessity of that case, and to which alone we have strictly confined ourselves*, when duly considered, would confirm and strengthen †, and be understood to be an effectual security for an allegiance of the subject to the crown of this realm, *in every other case where there is not the same necessity*; and that the right of the people to *self-defence, and preservation of their liberties, by resistance, as their last remedy, is the result of a case of such necessity only, and by which the original contract between king and people, is broke. This was the principle laid down and carried through all that was said with respect to allegiance; and on which foundation, in the name and on the behalf of all the commons of*

‘ Great

The commons strictly confine their ideas of a Revolution to necessity alone and self-defence.

† N.B. The remark implies that allegiance would be insecure without this restriction.

‘ Great Britain, we assert and justify that resistance by
 ‘ which the late happy revolution was brought
 ‘ about.’ — — —

‘ It appears to your lordships and the world, that
 ‘ breaking the original contract between king and people,
 ‘ were the words made choice of by that House of
 ‘ Commons, [the House of Commons which had
 ‘ originated the declaration of right,] with the
 ‘ greatest deliberation and judgment, and approved of
 ‘ by your lordships, in that first and fundamental
 ‘ step towards the *re-establishment of the government*,
 ‘ which had received so great a shock from the evil
 ‘ counsels which had been given to that unfortunate
 ‘ prince.’

* * * * *

Sir John Hawles, another of the managers, follows the steps of his brethren, positively affirming the doctrine of non-resistance to government to be the general, moral, religious, and political rule for the subject; and justifying the Revolution on the same principle with Mr. Burke, that is, *as an exception from necessity*.—Indeed he carries the doctrine on the general idea of non-resistance much further than Mr. Burke has done; and full as far as it can perhaps be supported by any duty of *perfect obligation*; however noble and heroic it may be, in many cases, to suffer death rather than disturb the tranquillity of our country.

* SIR JOHN HAWLES.

‘ Certainly it must be granted, that the doctrine
 ‘ that commands obedience to the supreme power,
 ‘ though in things contrary to nature, even to suffer
 ‘ death, which is the highest injustice that can be

* P. 676.

‘ done

' done a man, rather than make an opposition to the
 ' supreme power * [is reasonable;] because the
 ' death of one, or some few private persons; is a
 ' less evil than *disturbing the whole government*; that
 ' law must needs be understood to forbid the doing
 ' or saying any thing to disturb the government;
 ' the rather because the obeying that law cannot
 ' be pretended to be against nature: and the Doc-
 ' tor's refusing to obey that implicit law, is the
 ' reason for which he is now prosecuted; though he
 ' would have it believed, that the reason he is now
 ' prosecuted, was for the doctrine he asserted of
 ' obedience to the supreme power; which he
 ' might have preached as long as he had pleased,
 ' and the Commons would have taken no offence
 ' at it, if he had stopped there, and not have taken
 ' upon him, on that pretence or occasion, to have
 ' cast odious colours upon the Revolution.'

* * * * *

General Stanhope was among the managers:
 He begins his speech by a reference to the opinion
 of his fellow managers, which he hoped had put
 beyond all doubt the limits and qualifications that
 the Commons had placed to their doctrines con-
 cerning the Revolution; yet not satisfied with this
 general reference, after condemning the principle
 of non-resistance, which is asserted in the sermon
without any exception, and stating, that under the spe-
 cious pretence of preaching a peaceable doctrine,
 Sacheverel and the Jacobites meant in reality to
 excite a rebellion in favour of the Pretender, he
 explicitly limits his ideas of resistance with the

* The words necessary to the completion of the sentence
 are wanted in the printed trial—but the construction of the
 sentence, as well as the foregoing part of the speech, justify the
 insertion of some such supplemental words as the above.

boundaries

boundaries laid down by his colleagues and by Mr. Burke.

GENERAL STANHOPE.

‘ The constitution of England is founded upon compact; and the subjects of this kingdom have, in their several public and private capacities, as legal a title to what are their rights by law, as a prince to the possession of his crown. Rights of the subject and the crown equally legal.

‘ Your lordships, and most that hear me, are witnesses, and must remember the necessities of those times which brought about the Revolution: that no other remedy was left to preserve our religion and liberties; *that resistance was necessary and consequently just.* — — Justice of resistance founded on necessity.

‘ Had the Doctor, in the remaining part of his sermon, preached up peace, quietness, and the like, and shewn how happy we are under her majesty’s administration, and exhorted obedience to it, he had never been called to answer a charge at your lordships bar. But the tenor of all his subsequent discourse is one continued invective against the government.’

• • • • •

Mr. Walpole (afterwards Sir Robert) was one of the managers on this occasion. He was an honourable man and a sound Whig. He was not, as the Jacobites and discontented Whigs of his time have represented him, and as ill-informed people still represent him, a prodigal and corrupt minister. They charged him in their libels and seditious conversations as having first reduced corruption to a system. Such was their cant. But he was far from governing by corruption. He governed by party attachments. The charge of systematic corruption is less applicable to him, perhaps, than to any minister who ever served the crown for so great a length of time.

time. He gained over very few from the Opposition. Without being a genius of the first class, he was an intelligent, prudent, and safe minister. He loved peace; and he helped to communicate the same disposition to nations at least as warlike and restless as that in which he had the chief direction of affairs. Though he served a master who was fond of martial fame, he kept all the establishments very low. The land tax continued at two shillings in the pound for the greater part of his administration. The other impositions were moderate. The profound repose, the equal liberty, the firm protection of just laws during the long period of his power, were the principal causes of that prosperity which afterwards took such rapid strides towards perfection; and which furnished to this nation ability to acquire the military glory which it has since obtained, as well as to bear the burthens, the cause and consequence of that warlike reputation. With many virtues, public and private, he had his faults; but his faults were superficial. A careless, coarse, and over familiar style of discourse, without sufficient regard to persons or occasions, and an almost total want of political decorum, were the errors by which he was most hurt in the public opinion: and those through which his enemies obtained the greatest advantage over him. But justice must be done. The prudence, steadiness, and vigilance of that man, joined to the greatest possible lenity in his character and his politics, preserved the crown to this royal family; and with it, their laws and liberties to this country. Walpole had no other plan of defence for the Revolution, than that of the other managers, and of Mr. Burke; and he gives full as little countenance to any arbitrary attempts, on the part of restless and factious men, for framing new governments according to their fancies.

MR. WALPOLE.

‘ Resistance is no where enacted to be legal, but subjected, by all the laws now in being, to the greatest penalties. It is what is not, cannot, nor ought ever to be described, or affirmed, in any positive law, to be excusable: when, and upon what *never-to-be-expected* occasions, it may be exercised, no man can foresee; and it ought never to be thought of, but when an utter subversion of the laws of the realm threatens the whole frame of our constitution, and no redress can otherwise be hoped for. It therefore does, and ought for ever, to stand, in the eye and letter of the law, as the *biggest offence*. But because any man, or party of men, may not, out of folly or wantonness, commit treason, or make their own discontents, ill principles, or disguised affections to another interest, a pretence to resist the supreme power, will it follow from thence that the *utmost necessity* ought not to engage a nation, in its own defence, for the preservation of the whole?’

Case of resistance out of the law; and the highest offence.

Utmost necessity justifies it.

* * * * *

Sir Joseph Jekyl was, as I have always heard and believed, as nearly as any individual could be, the very standard of Whig principles in his age. He was a learned, and an able man; full of honour, integrity, and public spirit; no lover of innovation; nor disposed to change his solid principles for the giddy fashion of the hour. Let us hear this Whig.

SIR, JOSEPH JEKYL.

‘ In clearing up and vindicating the justice of the Revolution, which was the second thing proposed, it
F is

Commons
do not state
the limits
of submis-
sion.

' is far from the intent of the Commons to state the
' *limits and bounds* of the subject's submission to the
' sovereign. That which the law hath been wisely
' silent in, the Commons desire to be silent in too;
' nor will they put *any* case of a justifiable resistance,
' but that of the Revolution only; and *they persuade*
' *themselves that the doing right to that resistance will*
' *be so far from promoting popular licence or confusion,*
' *that it will have a contrary effect, and be a means of*
' *settling men's minds in the love of, and veneration for*
' *the laws*; to rescue and secure which, was the
' **ONLY** aim and intention of those concerned in re-
' *sistance.*'

To secure
the laws,
the only
aim of the
Revolu-
tion.

• • • • •

Dr. Sacheverel's counsel defended him on this principle, namely—that whilst he enforced from the pulpit the general doctrine of non-resistance, he was not obliged to take notice of the theoretic limits which ought to modify that doctrine. Sir Joseph Jekyl, in his reply, whilst he controverts its application to the Doctor's defence, fully admits and even enforces the principle itself, and supports the Revolution of 1688, as he and all the managers had done before, exactly upon the same grounds on which Mr. Burke has built, in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*.

SIR JOSEPH JEKYL.

Blameable
to state the
bounds of
non-resist-
ance.

' If the Doctor had pretended to have stated the
' particular bounds and limits of non-resistance,
' and told the people in what cases they might, or
' might not resist, *he would have been much to blame*;
' nor was one word said in the articles, or by the
' managers, as if that was expected from him:
' but, *on the contrary, we have insisted, that in NO*
' *case*

Resistance
lawful only
in case of

' case can resistance be lawful, but in case of extreme necessity, and where the constitution cannot otherwise be preserved; and such necessity ought to be plain and obvious to the sense and judgment of the whole nation; and this was the case at the Revolution.'

extreme
and obvious
necessity.

* * * * *

The counsel for Doctor Sacheverel, in defending their client, were driven in reality to abandon the fundamental principles of his doctrine, and to confess, that an exception to the general doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance did exist in the case of the Revolution. This the managers for the Commons considered as having gained their cause; as their having obtained *the whole* of what they contended for. They congratulated themselves and the nation on a civil victory, as glorious and as honourable as any that had obtained in arms during that reign of triumphs.

Sir Joseph Jekyl, in his reply to Harcourt, and the other great men who conducted the cause for the Tory side, spoke in the following memorable terms, distinctly stating the whole of what the Whig House of Commons contended for, in the name of all their constituents : —

SIR JOSEPH JEKYL.

' My lords, the concessions [the concessions of Sacheverel's counsel] are these:—That necessity creates an exception to the general rule of submission to the prince;—that such exception is understood or implied in the laws that require such submission;—and that the case of the Revolution was a case of necessity.'

Necessity
creates an
exception,
and the
Revolution
a case of
necessity,
the utmost
extent of
the demand
of the Com-
mons.

F 2

‘ These

‘ These are concessions *so ample*, and do so *fully* answer the drift of the Commons in this article, and are to *the utmost extent of their meaning in it*, that I can’t forbear congratulating them upon this success of their impeachment; that in full parliament, this erroneous doctrine of *unlimited* non-resistance is given up, and disclaimed. And may it not, in after ages, be an addition to the glories of this bright reign, that so many of those who are honoured with being in her majesty’s service have been at your lordships bar, thus successfully contending for the *national* rights of her people, and proving they are not precarious or remediless ?

‘ But to return to these concessions ; I must appeal to your lordships, whether they are not a *total departure* from the Doctor’s answer.’

* * * * *

- I now proceed to shew that the Whig managers for the Commons meant to preserve the government on a firm foundation, by asserting the perpetual validity of the settlement then made, and its coercive power upon posterity. I mean to shew that they gave no sort of countenance to any doctrine tending to impress the *people*, taken separately from the legislature which includes the crown, with an idea that *they* had acquired a moral or civil competence to alter (without breach of the original compact on the part of the king) the succession to the crown, at their pleasure ; much less that they had acquired any right, in the case of such an event as caused the Revolution, to set up any new form of government. The author of the Reflections, I believe, thought that no man of common understanding could oppose to this doctrine, the ordinary sovereign power, as declared in the act of queen Anne. That is, that the kings or queens of the realm, with

with the consent of parliament, are competent to regulate and to settle the succession of the crown. This power is and ever was inherent in the supreme sovereignty; and was not, as the political divines vainly talk, acquired by the revolution. It is declared in the old statute of Queen Elizabeth. Such a power must reside in the complete sovereignty of every kingdom; and it is in fact exercised in all of them. But this right of *competence* in the legislature, not in the people, is by the legislature itself to be exercised with *sound discretion*; that is to say, it is to be exercised or not, in conformity to the fundamental principles of this government; to the rules of moral obligation; and to the faith of pacts, either contained in the nature of the transaction, or entered into by the body corporate of the kingdom; which body, in juridical construction, never dies; and in fact never loses its members at once by death.

Whether this doctrine is reconcileable to the modern philosophy of government, I believe the author neither knows nor cares; as he has little respect for any of that sort of philosophy. This may be because his capacity and knowledge do not reach to it. If such be the case, he cannot be blamed, if he acts on the sense of that incapacity; he cannot be blamed, if in the most arduous and critical questions which can possibly arise, and which affect to the quick the vital parts of our constitution, he takes the side which leans most to safety and settlement; that he is resolved not "to be wise beyond what is written" in the legislative record and practice; that when doubts arise on them, he endeavours to interpret one statute by another; and to reconcile them all to established recognized morals, and to the general ancient known policy of the laws of England. Two things are equally evident, the first is, that the legislature possesses the

F 3

power

power of regulating the succession of the crown; the second, that in the exercise of that right it has uniformly acted as if under the *restraints* which the author has stated. That author makes what the ancients call *mos majorum*, not indeed his sole, but certainly his principal rule of policy, to guide his judgment in whatever regards our laws. Uniformity and analogy can be preserved in them by this process only. That point being fixed, and laying fast hold of a strong bottom, our speculations may swing in all directions, without public detriment; because they will ride with sure anchorage.

In this manner these things have been always considered by our ancestors. There are some indeed who have the art of turning the very acts of parliament which were made for securing the hereditary succession in the present royal family by rendering it penal to doubt of the validity of those acts of parliament, into an instrument for defeating all their ends and purposes: but upon grounds so very foolish, that it is not worth while to take further notice of such sophistry.

To prevent any unnecessary subdivision, I shall here put together what may be necessary to shew the perfect agreement of the Whigs with Mr. Burke, in his assertions, that the Revolution made no
 “ essential change in the constitution of the mo-
 “ narchy, or in any of its ancient, sound, and
 “ legal principles; that the succession was settled
 “ in the Hanover family, upon the idea, and in the
 “ mode of an hereditary succession qualified with
 “ Protestantism; that it was not settled upon *elective*
 “ principles, in any sense of the word *elective*, or
 “ under any modification or description of *election*
 “ whatsoever; but, on the contrary, that the nation,
 “ after the Revolution, renewed by a fresh compact
 “ the spirit of the original compact of the state,
 “ binding

“ binding itself, *both in its existing members and all its posterity*, to adhere to the settlement of an hereditary succession in the Protestant line, drawn from James the First, as the stock of inheritance.”

SIR JOHN HAWLES.

‘ If he [Dr. Sacheverel] is of the opinion he pretends, I cannot imagine how it comes to pass, that he that pays that deference to the supreme power has preached so directly contrary to the determinations of the supreme power in this government; he very well knowing that the lawfulness of the Revolution, and of the means whereby it was brought about, has already been determined by the aforesaid acts of parliament: and do it in the worst manner he could invent. *For questioning the right to the crown here in England, has procured the shedding of more blood, and caused more slaughter, than all the other matters tending to disturbances in the government, put together.* If, therefore, the doctrine which the apostles had laid down, was only to continue the peace of the world, as thinking the death of some few particular persons better to be borne with than a civil war; sure it is the highest breach of that law to question the first principles of this government.’

Necessity of settling the right of the crown, and submission to the settlement.

‘ If the Doctor had been contented with the liberty he took of preaching up the duty of passive obedience, in the most extensive manner he had thought fit, and would have stopped there, your lordships would not have had the trouble, in relation to him, that you now have; but it is plain, that he preached up his absolute and unconditional obedience, *not to continue the peace and tranquillity of this nation, but to set the subjects at strife, and to raise a war in the bowels of this nation*; and it is for *this* that he is now prosecuted; though he would fain have it believed that the prosecution was for

‘ preaching the peaceable doctrine of absolute obedience.’

• • • • •

SIR JOSEPH JEKYL.

Whole
frame of
government
restored ul-
hurt on the
Revolution.

‘ The whole tenor of the administration, then in being, was agreed by all to be *a total departure from the constitution*. The nation was at that time united in that opinion, all but the criminal part of it. And as the nation joined in the judgment of their disease, so they did in the remedy. *They saw there was no remedy left, but the last*; and when that remedy took place, *the whole frame of the government was restored entire and unburst*. This shewed the excellent temper the nation was in at that time, that, after such provocations from an abuse of the regal power, and such a convulsion, *no one part of the constitution was altered, or suffered the least damage; but, on the contrary, the whole received new life and vigour.*’

• • • • •

The Tory council for Dr. Sacheverel having insinuated, that a great and essential alteration in the constitution had been wrought by the Revolution, Sir Joseph Jekyl is so strong on this point,

‘ What we did was, in truth and substance and in a constitutional light, a revolution, not made, but prevented. We took solid securities; we settled doubtful questions; we corrected anomalies in our law. In the stable fundamental parts of our constitution we made no revolution; no, nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the monarchy. Perhaps it might be shewn that we strengthened it very considerably. The nation kept the same ranks, the same orders, the same privileges, the same franchises, the same rules for property, the same subordinations, the same order in the law, in the revenue, and in the magistracy; the same lords, the same commons, the same corporations, the same electors.’ *Mr. Burke’s speech in the House of Commons, 9th February 1790.* It appears how exactly he coincides in every thing with Sir Joseph Jekyl.

that

that he takes fire even at the insinuation of his being of such an opinion,

SIR JOSEPH JEKYL.

‘ If the Doëtor instructed his counsel to insinuate that there was *any innovation in the constitution wrought by the Revolution, it is an addition to his crime. The Revolution did not introduce any innovation; it was a restoration of the antient fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and giving it its proper force and energy.*’

No innovation at the Revolution.

* * * * *

The Solicitor General, Sir Robert Eyre, distinguishes expressly the case of the Revolution, and its principles, from a proceeding at pleasure, on the part of the people, to change their antient constitution, and to frame a new government for themselves. He distinguishes it with the same care from the principles of regicide, and republicanism, and the sorts of resistance condemned by the doctrines of the church of England, and, which ought to be condemned, by the doctrines of all churches professing Christianity.

MR. SOLICITOR GENERAL, SIR ROBERT EYRE.

‘ The resistance at the Revolution, which was founded in *unavoidable necessity*, could be no defence to a man that was attacked for asserting that the people might cancel their allegiance at pleasure, or depose and murder their sovereign by a *judiciary sentence*. For it can never be inferred from the lawfulness of resistance, at a time when a total subversion of the government both in church and state was intended, that a people may take up arms, and call their sovereign to account at pleasure; and, therefore, since the Revolution could be of no service in giving the least colour for asserting any

Revolution no precedent for voluntary cancelling allegiance.

Revolution
not like the
case of
Charles the
First.

‘ *any such wicked principle, the Doctor could never intend to put it into the mouths of those new preachers, and new politicians, for a defence; unless it be his opinion, that the resistance at the Revolution can bear any parallel with the execrable murder of the royal martyr, so justly detested by the whole nation.*

‘ It is plain that the Doctor is not impeached for preaching a general doctrine, and enforcing the general duty of obedience, but for preaching against an *excepted case, after he has stated the exception.* He is not impeached for preaching the general doctrine of obedience, and the utter illegality of resistance upon any pretence whatsoever; but because, having first laid down the general doctrine as true, without any exception, *he states the excepted case, the Revolution, in express terms, as an objection; and then assuming the consideration of that excepted case, denies there was any resistance in the Revolution; and asserts, that to impute resistance to the Revolution, would cast black and odious colours upon it. This is not preaching the doctrine of non-resistance, in the general terms used by the homilies, and the fathers of the church, where cases of necessity may be understood to be excepted by a tacit implication, as the counsel have allowed; but is preaching directly against the resistance at the Revolution, which, in the course of this debate, has been all along admitted to be necessary and just, and can have no other meaning than to bring a dishonour upon the Revolution, and an odium upon those great and illustrious persons, those friends to the monarchy and the church, that assisted in bringing it about.* For had the Doctor intended any thing else, he would have treated the case of the Revolution in a different manner, and have given *it the true and fair answer*; he would have said, that the re-

‘ *sistance*

Sacheverel's doctrine intended to bring an odium on the Revolution.

True defence of the

‘ *fiſtance at the Revolution was of absolute neceſſity, and the only means left to revive the conſtitution; and muſt therefore be taken as an excepted caſe,* and could never come within the reach and intention of the general doctrine of the church.

Revolution
on absolute
neceſſity.

‘ Your lordſhips take notice on what grounds the Doctor continues to aſſert the ſame poſition in his answer. But is it not moſt evident, that the general exhortations to be met with in the homilies of the church of England, and ſuch like declarations in the ſtatutes of the kingdom, are meant only as rules for the civil obedience of the ſubject to the legal adminiſtration of the ſupreme power in *ordinary caſes*? And it is equally abſurd, to conſtrue any words in a poſitive law to authorize the deſtruction of the whole, as to expect that king, lords, and commons ſhould, in expreſs terms of law, declare *ſuch an ultimate reſort as the right of reſiſtance, at a time when the caſe ſuppoſes that the force of all law is ceaſed* *.

‘ The Commons muſt always reſent, with the utmoſt deteſtation and abhorrence, every poſition that may ſhake the authority of that act of parliament, whereby the crown is ſettled upon her majeſty, *and whereby the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons do, in the name of all the people of England, moſt humbly and faithfully ſubmit themſelves, their heirs and poſterities, to her majeſty*, which this general principle of abſolute non-reſiſtance muſt certainly ſhake.

Commons
abhor what-
ever ſhakes
the ſubmiſ-
ſion of poſ-
terity to the
ſettlement
of the
crown.

‘ For, if the reſiſtance at the Revolution was illegal, the Revolution ſettled in uſurpation, and this act can have no greater force and authority than an act paſſed under an uſurper.

‘ And the Commons take leave to obſerve, that the authority of the parliamentary ſettlement is a

* See Reflections, p. 42, 43.

‘ matter of the greatest consequence to maintain, in
 ‘ a case where the hereditary right to the crown is
 ‘ contested.

‘ It appears by the several instances mentioned in
 ‘ the act declaring the rights and liberties of the
 ‘ subject, and settling the succession of the crown,
 ‘ that at the time of the Revolution there was a
 ‘ *total subversion of the constitution of government both*
 ‘ *in church and state, which is a case that the laws*
 ‘ *of England could never suppose, provide for, or have*
 ‘ *in view.*’

* * * * *

Sir Joseph Jekyl, so often quoted, considered the preservation of the monarchy, and of the rights and prerogatives of the crown, as essential objects with all sound Whigs; and that they were bound, not only to maintain them when injured or invaded, but to exert themselves as much for their re-establishment, if they should happen to be overthrown by popular fury, as any of their own more immediate and popular rights and privileges, if the latter should be at any time subverted by the crown. For this reason he puts the cases of the *Revolution* and the *Restoration*, exactly upon the same footing. He plainly marks, that it was the object of all honest men, not to sacrifice one part of the constitution to another; and much more, not to sacrifice any of them to visionary theories of the rights of man; but to preserve our whole inheritance in the constitution, in all its members and all its relations, entire, and unimpaired, from generation to generation. In this Mr. Burke exactly agrees with him.

SIR JOSEPH JEKYL.

What are
 the rights of
 the people.

‘ Nothing is plainer than that the people have
 ‘ a right to the laws and the constitution. This
 ‘ right

‘ right the nation hath asserted, and recovered out
 ‘ of the hands of those who had dispossessed them
 ‘ of it at several times. There are of this *two*
 ‘ *famous instances* in the knowledge of the present
 ‘ age; I mean that of the *Restoration*, and that
 ‘ of the *Revolution*; in both of these great events
 ‘ were the *regal power*, and the *rights of the people*
 ‘ recovered. And it is *hard to say in which the*
 ‘ *people have the greatest interest*; for the commons
 ‘ are sensible that there is not one legal power be-
 ‘ longing to the crown, but they have an interest in it;
 ‘ and I doubt not but they will always be as careful
 ‘ to support the rights of the crown, as their own
 ‘ privileges.’

Restoration
and Revo-
lution.

People have
an equal in-
terest in the
legal rights
of the
crown and
of their
own.

The other Whig managers regarded (as he did)
 the overturning, of the monarchy by a republican
 faction with the very same horror and detestation
 with which they regarded the destruction of the
 privileges of the people by an arbitrary mo-
 narch.

MR. LECHMERE,

Speaking of our constitution, states it as ‘ a
 ‘ constitution which happily recovered itself, at
 ‘ the Restoration, from the confusions and dis-
 ‘ orders which *the horrid and detestable proceed-*
 ‘ *ings of faction and usurpation had thrown it into,*
 ‘ and which, after many convulsions and struggles,
 ‘ was providentially saved at the late happy Revo-
 ‘ lution; and, by the many good laws passed since
 ‘ that time, stands now upon a firmer foundation:
 ‘ together with the most comfortable prospect of
 ‘ *security to all posterity*, by the settlement of the
 ‘ crown in the Protestant line.’

Constitu-
tion reco-
vered at the
restoration
and revolution.

* * * * *

I mean

I mean now to shew that the Whigs, (if Sir Joseph Jekyl was one) and if he spoke in conformity to the sense of the Whig house of commons and the Whig ministry who employed him, did carefully guard against any presumption that might arise from the repeal of the non-resistance oath of Charles the second, as if, at the Revolution, the antient principles of our government were at all changed—or that republican doctrines were countenanced,—or any sanction given to seditious proceedings upon general undefined ideas of misconduct—or for changing the form of government—or for resistance upon any other ground than the *necessity* so often mentioned for the purpose of self-preservation. It will shew still more clearly the equal care of the then Whigs, to prevent either the regal power from being swallowed up on pretence of popular rights, or the popular rights from being destroyed on pretence of regal prerogatives.

SIR JOSEPH JEKYL.

Mischief of
broaching
antimonar-
chical prin-
ciples.

‘Further, I desire it may be considered, that these legislators [the legislators who framed the non-resistance oath of Charles the Second] were guarding against the consequences of those *per-
nicious and antimonarchical principles, which had
been broached a little before in this nation*; and those large declarations in favour of *non-resistance* were made to encounter or obviate the *mischief* of those principles; as appears by the preamble to the fullest of those acts, which is the *militia act*, in the 13th and 14th of King Charles the Second. The words of that act are these: *And, during the late usurped governments, many evil and rebellious principles have been instilled into the minds of the people of this kingdom, which may break forth, unless prevented, to the disturbance of the peace and quiet thereof*:

Two cases
of resist-
ance, one to
preserve the
crown, the
other the
rights of the
subject.

‘ *thereof: Be it therefore enacted, &c.* Here your lordships may see the reason that inclined those legislators to express themselves in such a manner against resistance. *They had seen the regal rights swallowed up, under the pretence of popular ones; and it is no imputation on them that they did not then foresee a quite different case, as was that of the Revolution; where, under the pretence of regal authority, a total subversion of the rights of the subject was advanced, and in a manner effected. And this may serve to shew, that it was not the design of those legislators to condemn resistance, in a case of absolute necessity, for preserving the constitution, when they were guarding against principles which had so lately destroyed it.*

‘ As to the truth of the doctrine in this declaration which was repealed, *I will admit it to be as true as the Doctor’s counsel assert it; that is, with an exception of cases of necessity; and it was not repealed because it was false, understanding it with that restriction; but it was repealed because it might be interpreted in an unconfined sense, and exclusive of that restriction; and being so understood, would reflect on the justice of the Revolution: and this the legislature had at heart, and were very jealous of; and by this repeal of that declaration, gave a parliamentary or legislative admonition, against asserting this doctrine of non-resistance in an unlimited sense.* — — —

Non-resistance oath not repealed, because (with the restriction of necessity) it was false, but to prevent false interpretations.

‘ Though the general doctrine of non-resistance, the doctrine of the church of England, as stated in her homilies, or elsewhere delivered, by which the general duty of subjects to the higher powers is taught, be owned to be, as unquestionably it is, *a godly and wholesome doctrine*; though this general doctrine has been constantly inculcated by the reverend fathers of the church, dead and living, and preached by them as a preservative

General doctrine of non-resistance godly and wholesome; not bound to state explicitly the exceptions.

' against the popish doctrine of deposing princes;
 ' and as the ordinary rule of obedience; and
 ' though the same doctrine has been preached,
 ' maintained, and avowed by our most orthodox
 ' and able divines from the time of the Reforma-
 ' tion; and how *innocent a man* Dr. Sacheverel
 ' had been, if, *with an honest and well-meant zeal*,
 ' he had preached the same doctrine in the same
 ' general terms in which he found it delivered by
 ' the apostles of Christ, as taught by the homilies,
 ' and the reverend fathers of our church, and,
 ' in imitation of those great examples, had only
 ' pressed the general duty of obedience, and the il-
 ' legality of resistance, without taking notice of
 ' any exception.'

* * * * *

Another of the managers for the house of com-
 mons, Sir John Holland, was not less careful in
 guarding against a confusion of the principles of the
 revolution, with any loose general doctrines of a right
 in the individual, or even in the people, to under-
 take for themselves, on any prevalent tempo-
 rary opinions of convenience or improvement, any
 fundamental change in the constitution, or to
 fabricate a new government for themselves, and
 thereby to disturb the public peace, and to unsettle
 the antient constitution of this kingdom.

SIR JOHN HOLLAND.

Submission
 to the sove-
 reign a con-
 scientious
 duty, except
 in cases of
 necessity.

' The commons would not be understood, as if
 ' they were pleading for a licentious resistance; as if
 ' *subjects* were left to *their* good-will and pleasure,
 ' when they are to *obey*, and when to *resist*. No,
 ' my lords, they know they are *obliged by all the ties*
 ' *of social creatures and Christians, for wrath and*
 ' *conscience*

‘ *conscience sake, to submit to their sovereign. The commons do not abet bumsome factious arms: they aver them to be rebellious. But yet they maintain, that that resistance at the Revolution, which was so necessary, was lawful and just from that necessity.*

‘ These general rules of obedience may, upon a real necessity, admit a lawful exception; and such a necessary exception we assert the revolution to be.

‘ ‘Tis with this view of necessity only, absolute necessity of preserving our laws, liberties, and religion; ‘tis with this limitation that we desire to be understood, when any of us speak of resistance in general. The necessity of the resistance at the Revolution, was at that time obvious to every man.’

Right of
resistance
how to be
understood.

* * * * *

I shall conclude these extracts with a reference to the prince of Orange’s declaration, in which he gives the nation the fullest assurance that in his enterprize he was far from the intention of introducing any change whatever in the fundamental law and constitution of the state. He considered the object of his enterprize, not to be a precedent for further revolutions, but that it was the great end of his expedition to make such revolutions so far as human power and wisdom could provide, unnecessary.

Extracts from the Prince of Orange’s Declaration.

‘ *All magistrates, who have been unjustly turned out, shall forthwith resume their former employments, as well as all the boroughs of England shall return again to their antient prescriptions and charters: and more particularly, that*

G

‘ *the*

‘ *the antient charter of the great and famous city of London shall be again in force. And that the writs for the members of parliament shall be addressed to the proper officers, according to law and custom.* — — —

‘ And for the doing of all other things, which the two houses of parliament shall find necessary for the peace, honour, and safety of the nation, so that there may be no danger of the nation’s falling, at any time hereafter, under arbitrary government.

Extract from the Prince of Orange’s additional Declaration.

‘ We are confident that no persons can have such hard thoughts of us, as to imagine that we have any other design in this undertaking, than to procure a settlement of the religion, and of the liberties and properties of the subjects, upon so sure a foundation, that there may be no danger of the nation’s relapsing into the like miseries at any time hereafter. And, as the forces that we have brought along with us are utterly disproportioned to that wicked design of conquering the nation, if we were capable of intending it ; so the great numbers of the principal nobility and gentry, that are men of eminent quality and estates, and persons of known integrity and zeal, both for the religion and government of England, many of them also being distinguished by their constant fidelity to the crown, who do both accompany us in this expedition, and have earnestly solicited us to it, will cover us from all such malicious insinuations.’

In the spirit, and upon one occasion in the words *, of this declaration, the statutes passed in that reign made such provisions for preventing these dangers, that scarcely any thing short of combination

* Declaration of Right.

of

Principal nobility and gentry well affected to the church and crown security against the design of innovation.

of king, lords, and commons for the destruction of the liberties of the nation, can in any probability make us liable to similar perils. In that dreadful, and, I hope, not to be looked for case, any opinion of a right to make revolutions, grounded on this precedent, would be but a poor resource.—Dreadful indeed would be our situation.

These are the doctrines held by *the Whigs of the Revolution*, delivered with as much solemnity, and as authentically at least, as any political dogmas were ever promulgated from the beginning of the world. If there be any difference between their tenets and those of Mr. Burke it is, that the old Whigs oppose themselves still more strongly than he does against the doctrines which are now propagated with so much industry by those who would be thought their successors.

It will be said perhaps, that the old Whigs, in order to guard themselves against popular odium, pretended to assert tenets contrary to those which they secretly held. This, if true, would prove, what Mr. Burke has uniformly asserted, that the extravagant doctrines which he meant to expose, were disagreeable to the body of the people; who, though they perfectly abhor a despotic government, certainly approach more nearly to the love of mitigated monarchy, than to any thing which bears the appearance even of the best republic. But if these old Whigs deceived the people, their conduct was unaccountable indeed. They exposed their power, as every one conversant in history knows, to the greatest peril, for the propagation of opinions which, on this hypothesis, they did not hold. It is a new kind of martyrdom. This supposition does as little credit to their integrity as their wisdom: It makes them at once hypocrites and fools. I think of those great men very differently. I hold them to have been, what the world thought them,

men of deep understanding, open sincerity, and clear honour. However, be that matter as it may; what these old Whigs pretended to be, Mr. Burke is. This is enough for him.

I do indeed admit, that though Mr. Burke has proved that his opinions were those of the old Whig party, solemnly declared by one house, in effect and substance by both houses of parliament, this testimony standing by itself will form no proper defence for his opinions, if he and the old Whigs were both of them in the wrong. But it is his present concern, not to vindicate these old Whigs, but to shew his agreement with them.—He appeals to them as judges: he does not vindicate them as culprits. It is current that these old politicians knew little of the rights of men; that they lost their way by groping about in the dark, and fumbling among rotten parchments and musty records. Great lights they say are lately obtained in the world; and Mr. Burke, instead of shrowding himself in exploded ignorance, ought to have taken advantage of the blaze of illumination which has been spread about him. It may be so. The enthusiasts of this time, it seems, like their predecessors in another faction of fanaticism, deal in lights. —Hudibras pleasantly says of them, they

“ Have lights, whose better eyes are blind,

“ As pigs are said to see the wind.”

The author of the Reflections has *heard* a great deal concerning the modern lights; but he has not yet had the good fortune to *see* much of them. He has read more than he can justify to any thing but the spirit of curiosity, of the works of these illuminators of the world. He has learned nothing from the far greater number of them, than a full certainty of their shallowness, levity, pride, petulance, presumption and ignorance. Where

Where the old authors whom he has read, and the old men whom he has conversed with, have left him in the dark, he is in the dark still. If others, however, have obtained any of this extraordinary light, they will use it to guide them in their researches and their conduct. I have only to wish, that the nation may be as happy and as prosperous under the influence of the new light, as it has been in the sober shade of the old obscurity. As to the rest, it will be difficult for the author of the Reflections to conform to the principles of the avowed leaders of the party, until they appear otherwise than negatively. All we can gather from them is this, that their principles are diametrically opposite to his. This is all that we know from authority. Their negative declaration obliges me to have recourse to the books which contain positive doctrines. They are indeed, to those Mr. Burke holds, diametrically opposite; and if it be true, (as the oracles of the party have said, I hope hastily) that their opinions differ so widely, it should seem they are the most likely to form the creed of the modern Whigs.

I have stated what were the avowed sentiments of the old Whigs, not in the way of argument, but narratively. It is but fair to set before the reader, in the same simple manner, the sentiments of the modern, to which they spare neither pains nor expence to make proselytes. I choose them from the books upon which most of that industry and expenditure in circulation have been employed; I choose them not from those who speak with a politic obscurity; not from those who only controvert the opinions of the old Whigs, without advancing any of their own, but from those who speak plainly and affirmatively. The Whig reader may make his choice between the two doctrines.

The doctrine then propagated by these societies, which gentlemen think they ought to be very

tender in discouraging, as nearly as possible in their own words, is as follows: that in Great Britain we are not only without a good constitution, but that we have "no constitution." That, "tho' it is much talked about, no such thing as a constitution exists, or ever did exist; and consequently that *the people have a constitution yet no form*; that since William the Conqueror, the country has never yet *regenerated itself*, and is therefore without a constitution. That where it cannot be produced in a visible form, there is none. That a constitution is a thing antecedent to government; and that the constitution of a country is not the act of its government, but of a people constituting a government. That *every thing* in the English government is the reverse of what it ought to be, and what it is said to be in England. That the right of war and peace resides in a metaphor shewn at the Tower, for six pence or a shilling a-piece.—That it signifies not where the right resides, whether in the crown or in parliament. War is the common harvest of those who participate in the division and expenditure of public money. That the portion of liberty enjoyed in England is just enough to enslave a country more productively than by despotism."

So far as to the general state of the British constitution.—As to our house of lords, the chief virtual representative of our aristocracy, the great ground and pillar of security to the landed interest, and that main link by which it is connected with the law and the crown, these worthy societies are pleased to tell us, that, "whether we view aristocracy before, or behind, or side-ways, or any way else, domestically or publicly, it is still a *monster*. That aristocracy in France had one feature less in its countenance than what it has in some other countries; it did
 " not

“ not compose a body of hereditary legislators. It
 “ was not a corporation of aristocracy ;”—for such
 it seems that profound legislator Mr. De la Fayette
 describes the house of peers. “ That it is
 “ kept up by family tyranny and injustice—that
 “ there is an unnatural unfitness in aristocracy to be
 “ legislators for a nation—that their ideas of dis-
 “ tributive justice are corrupted at the very source ;
 “ they begin life by trampling on all their younger
 “ brothers, and sisters, and relations of every kind,
 “ and are taught and educated so to do.—That the
 “ idea of an hereditary legislator is as absurd as an
 “ hereditary mathematician. That a body holding
 “ themselves unaccountable to any body, ought to
 “ be trusted by no body—that it is continuing the
 “ uncivilized principles of governments founded in
 “ conquest, and the base idea of man having a pro-
 “ perty in man, and governing him by a personal
 “ right—that aristocracy has a tendency to dege-
 “ nerate the human species,” &c. &c.

As to our law of primogeniture, which with few
 and inconsiderable exceptions is the standing law of
 all our landed inheritance, and which without ques-
 tion has a tendency, and I think a most happy
 tendency, to preserve a character of consequence,
 weight, and prevalent influence over others in the
 whole body of the landed interest, they call loudly
 for its destruction. They do this for political rea-
 sons that are very manifest. They have the con-
 fidence to say, “ that it is a law against every law
 “ of nature, and nature herself calls for its destruc-
 “ tion. Establish family justice, and aristocracy
 “ falls. By the aristocratical law of primogeni-
 “ tureship, in a family of six children, five are
 “ exposed. Aristocracy has never but *one* child.
 “ The rest are begotten to be devoured. They
 “ are thrown to the cannibal for prey, and the na-
 “ tural parent prepares the unnatural repast.”

As to the house of commons, they treat it far worse than the house of lords or the crown have been ever treated. Perhaps they thought they had a greater right to take this amicable freedom with those of their own family. For many years it has been the perpetual theme of their invectives.—“Mockery, insult, usurpation,” are amongst the best names they bestow upon it. They damn it in the mass, by declaring “that it does not arise out of the inherent rights of the people, as the national assembly does in France, and whose name designates its original.”

Of the charters and corporations, to whose rights, a few years ago, these gentlemen were so tremblingly alive, they say, “that when the people of England come to reflect upon them, they will, like France, annihilate those badges of oppression, those traces of a conquered nation.”

As to our monarchy, they had formerly been more tender of that branch of the constitution, and for a good reason. The laws had guarded against all seditious attacks upon it, with a greater degree of strictness and severity. The tone of these gentlemen is totally altered since the French Revolution. They now declaim as vehemently against the monarchy, as in former occasions they treacherously flattered and soothed it.

“When we survey the wretched condition of man under the monarchical and hereditary systems of government, dragged from his home by one power, or driven by another, and impoverished by taxes more than by enemies, it becomes evident that those systems are bad, and that a general revolution in the principle and construction of governments is necessary.”

“What is government more than the management of the affairs of a nation? It is not, and from its nature cannot be, the property of any particular

“ particular man or family, but of the whole com-
 “ munity, at whose expence it is supported; and
 “ though by force or contrivance it has been usurp-
 “ ed into an inheritance, the usurpation cannot
 “ alter the right of things. Sovereignty, as a
 “ matter of right, appertains to the nation only,
 “ and not to any individual; and a nation has at
 “ all times an inherent indefeasible right to abolish
 “ any form of government it finds inconvenient,
 “ and establish such as accords with its interest,
 “ disposition, and happiness. The romantic and
 “ barbarous distinction of men into kings and sub-
 “ jects, though it may suit the condition of cour-
 “ tiers, cannot that of citizens; and is exploded
 “ by the principle upon which governments are
 “ now founded. Every citizen is a member of
 “ the sovereignty, and, as such, can acknowledge
 “ no personal subjection; and his obedience can be
 “ only to the laws.”

- - - - -
 Warmly recommending to us the example of
 France, where they have destroyed monarchy, they
 say —

“ Monarchical sovereignty, the enemy of man-
 “ kind, and the source of misery, is abolished; and
 “ sovereignty itself is restored to its natural and
 “ original place, the nation. Were this the case
 “ throughout Europe, the cause of wars would be
 “ taken away.”

- - - - -
 “ But, after all, what is this metaphor called a
 “ crown, or rather what is monarchy? Is it a thing,
 “ or is it a name, or is it a fraud? Is it ‘ a con-
 “ trivance of human wisdom,’ or of human craft
 “ to obtain money from a nation under specious
 “ pretences? Is it a thing necessary to a nation?
 “ If it is, in what does that necessity consist, what
 “ services does it perform, what is its business, and
 “ what

“ what are its merits? Doth the virtue consist in
 “ the metaphor, or in the man? Doth the gold-
 “ smith that makes the crown make the virtue al-
 “ so? Doth it operate like Fortunatus’s wishing-
 “ cap, or Harlequin’s wooden sword? Doth it make
 “ a man a conjuror? In fine, what is it? It ap-
 “ pears to be a something going much out of
 “ fashion, falling into ridicule, and rejected in some
 “ countries both as unnecessary and expensive. In
 “ America it is considered as an absurdity; and in
 “ France it has so far declined, that the goodness
 “ of the man, and the respect for his personal cha-
 “ racter, are the only things that preserve the ap-
 “ pearance of its existence.”

“ Mr. Burke talks about what he calls an here-
 “ ditary crown, as if it were some production of
 “ Nature; or as if, like Time, it had a power to
 “ operate, not only independently, but in spite of
 “ man; or as if it were a thing or a subject uni-
 “ versally consented to. Alas! it has none of those
 “ properties, but is the reverse of them all. It is a
 “ thing in imagination, the propriety of which is
 “ more than doubted, and the legality of which
 “ in a few years will be denied.”

“ If I ask the farmer, the manufacturer, the
 “ merchant, the tradesman, and down through all
 “ the occupations of life to the common labourer,
 “ what service monarchy is to him? he can give
 “ me no answer. If I ask him what monarchy is,
 “ he believes it is something like a sinecure.

“ The French constitution says, That the right
 “ of war and peace is in the nation. Where else
 “ should it reside, but in those who are to pay the
 “ expence?

“ In England, this right is said to reside in a me-
 “ tapbor,

“ *tapster*, shewn at the Tower for sixpence or a
 “ shilling a-piece: So are the lions; and it would
 “ be a step nearer to reason to say it resided in
 “ them, for any inanimate metaphor is no more
 “ than a hat or a cap. We can all see the absurdity
 “ of worshipping Aaron’s molten calf, or Nebuchadnezzar’s golden image; but why do men
 “ continue to practise themselves the absurdities they
 “ despise in others?”

The Revolution and Hanover succession had been objects of the highest veneration to the old Whigs. They thought them not only proofs of the sober and steady spirit of liberty which guided their ancestors; but of their wisdom and provident care of posterity.—The modern Whigs have quite other notions of these events and actions. They do not deny that Mr. Burke has given truly the words of the acts of parliament which secured the succession, and the just sense of them. They attack not him but the law.

“ Mr. Burke (say they) has done some service,
 “ not to his cause, but to his country, by bringing
 “ those clauses into public view. They serve to
 “ demonstrate how necessary it is at all times to watch
 “ against the attempted encroachment of power,
 “ and to prevent its running to excess. It is somewhat extraordinary, that the offence for which
 “ James II. was expelled, that of setting up power
 “ by *assumption*, should be re-acted, under another
 “ shape and form, by the parliament that expelled
 “ him. It shews that the rights of man were but
 “ imperfectly understood at the Revolution; for,
 “ certain it is, that the right which that parliament
 “ set up by *assumption* (for by delegation it had it not,
 “ and could not have it, because none could give it)
 “ over the persons and freedom of posterity for ever,
 “ was of the same tyrannical unfounded kind which
 “ James

“ James attempted to set up over the parliament and the nation, and for which he was expelled. The only difference is, (for in principle they differ not), that the one was an usurper over the living, and the other over the unborn; and as the one has no better authority to stand upon than the other, both of them must be equally null and void, and of no effect.”

“ As the estimation of all things is by comparison, the Revolution of 1688, however from circumstances it may have been exalted beyond its value, will find its level. It is already on the wane; eclipsed by the enlarging orb of reason, and the luminous revolutions of America and France. In less than another century, it will go, as well as Mr. Burke’s labours, ‘ to the family vault of all the Capulets.’ *Mankind will then scarcely believe that a country calling itself free, would send to Holland for a man, and clothe him with power, on purpose to put themselves in fear of him, and give him almost a million sterling a-year for leave to submit themselves and their posterity, like bond-men and bond-women, for ever.*”

“ Mr. Burke having said that the king holds his crown in contempt of the choice of the Revolution society, who individually or collectively have not,” (as most certainly they have not) “ a vote for a king amongst them, they take occasion from thence to infer, that a king who does not hold his crown by election, despises the people.”

“ The King of England,” says he, “ holds his crown (for it does not belong to the nation, according to Mr. Burke) in *contempt* of the choice of the Revolution Society.” &c.

“ As to who is King in England or elsewhere,
“ or

" or whether there is any King at all, or whether
 " the people chuse a Cherokee Chief, or a Hessian
 " Hussar for a King, it is not a matter that I
 " trouble myself about—be that to themselves;
 " but with respect to the doctrine, so far as it re-
 " lates to the Rights of Men and Nations, it is
 " as abominable as any thing ever uttered in the
 " most enslaved country under heaven. Whether
 " it sounds worse to my ear, by not being accus-
 " tomed to hear such despotism, than what it does
 " to the ear of another person, I am not so well
 " a judge of; but of its abominable principle I
 " am at no loss to judge."

These societies of modern Whigs push their in-
 solence as far as it can go. In order to prepare the
 minds of the people for treason and rebellion, they
 represent the king as tainted with principles of des-
 potism, from the circumstance of his having domi-
 nions in Germany. In direct defiance of the most
 notorious truth, they describe his government there
 to be a despotism; whereas it is a free constitution,
 in which the states of the electorate have their
 part in the government; and this privilege has
 never been infringed by the king, or, that I have
 heard of, by any of his predecessors. The consti-
 tution of the electoral dominions has indeed a dou-
 ble control, both from the laws of the empire, and
 from the privileges of the country. Whatever rights
 the king enjoys as elector, have been always pa-
 rentally exercised, and the calumnies of these scan-
 dalous societies have not been authorized by a single
 complaint of oppression.

" When Mr. Burke says that ' his majesty's
 ' heirs and successors, each in their time and order,
 ' will come to the crown with the *same contempt*
 ' of their choice with which his majesty has suc-
 ' ceeded to that he wears,' it is saying too much
 " even to the humblest individual in the country;
 " part of whose daily labour goes towards making
 " up

“ up the million sterling a year, which the country
 “ gives the person it stiles a king. Government
 “ with insolence, is despotism ; but when contempt
 “ is added, it becomes worse ; and to pay for con-
 “ tempt, is the excess of slavery. This species of
 “ government comes from Germany ; and re-
 “ minds me of what one of the Brunswick soldiers
 “ told me, who was taken prisoner by the Ameri-
 “ cans in the late war : ‘ Ah !’ said he, ‘ America
 “ is a fine free country, it is worth the people’s
 “ fighting for ; I know the difference by knowing
 “ my own : in my country, *if the prince says, Eat*
 “ *straw, we eat straw,*’ “ God help that country,
 “ thought I, be it England or elsewhere, whose li-
 “ berties are to be protected by *German principles*
 “ *of government, and princes of Brunswick !*”

“ It is somewhat curious to observe, that although
 “ the people of England have been in the habit of
 “ talking about kings, it is always a Foreign House
 “ of kings ; hating Foreigners, yet governed by them.
 “ — It is now the House of Brunswick, one of the
 “ petty tribes of Germany.”

“ If Government be what Mr. Burke describes
 “ it, ‘ a contrivance of human wisdom,’ I might
 “ ask him, if wisdom was at such a low ebb in Eng-
 “ land, that it was become necessary to import it
 “ from Holland and from Hanover ? But I will do
 “ the country the justice to say, that was not the
 “ case ; and even if it was, it mistook the cargo.
 “ The wisdom of every country, when properly ex-
 “ erted, is sufficient for all its purposes ; *and there*
 “ *could exist no more real occasion in England to*
 “ *have sent for a Dutch Stadtholder, or a Ger-*
 “ *man Elector, than there was in America to have*
 “ *done a similar thing.* If a country does not un-
 “ derstand its own affairs, how is a foreigner to un-
 “ derstand them, who knows neither its laws, its
 “ manners,

"manners, nor its language? If there existed a man
 "so transcendantly wise above all others, that his
 "wisdom was necessary to instruct a nation, some
 "reason might be offered for monarchy; but when
 "we cast our eyes about a country, and observe
 "how every part understands its own affairs; and
 "when we look around the world, and see that of all
 "men in it, the race of kings are the most insigni-
 "ficant in capacity, our reason cannot fail to ask us
 "—What are those men kept for?" *

These are the notions which, under the idea of
 Whig principles, several persons, and among them
 persons of no mean mark, have associated them-
 selves to propagate. I will not attempt in the
 smallest degree to refute them. This will probably
 be done (if such writings shall be thought to deserve
 any other than the refutation of criminal justice) by
 others, who may think with Mr. Burke. He has
 performed his part.

I do not wish to enter very much at large into the
 discussions which diverge and ramify in all ways from
 this productive subject. But there is one topic upon
 which I hope I shall be excused in going a little be-
 yond my design. The factions, now so busy amongst
 us, in order to divest men of all love for their country;
 and to remove from their minds all duty with re-
 gard to the state, endeavour to propagate an opini-
 on, that the *people*, in forming their commonwealth,
 have by no means parted with their power over it.
 This is an impregnable citadel, to which these gen-
 tlemen retreat whenever they are pushed by the
 battery of laws, and usages, and positive conven-
 tions. Indeed it is such and of so great force,
 that all they have done in defending their out-
 works is so much time and labour thrown away.
 Discuss any of their schemes—their answer is—It

* Vindication of the Rights of Man, recommended by the
 several societies.

is the act of the *people*, and that is sufficient. Are we to deny to a *majority* of the people the right of altering even the whole frame of their society, if such should be their pleasure? They may change it, say they, from a monarchy to a republic to-day, and to-morrow back again from a republic to a monarchy; and so backward and forward as often as they like. They are masters of the commonwealth; because in substance they are themselves the commonwealth. The French revolution, say they, was the act of the majority of the people; and if the majority of any other people, the people of England for instance, wish to make the same change, they have the same right.

- Just the same undoubtedly. That is, none at all.
- Neither the few nor the many have a right to act merely by their will, in any matter connected with duty, trust, engagement, or obligation. The constitution of a country being once settled upon some compact, tacit or expressed, there is no power existing of force to alter it, without the breach of the covenant, or the consent of all the parties. Such is the nature of a contract. And the votes of a majority of the people, whatever their infamous flatterers may teach in order to corrupt their minds, cannot alter the moral any more than they can alter the physical essence of things. The people are not to be taught to think lightly of their engagements to their governors; else they teach governors to think lightly of their engagements towards them. In that kind of game in the end the people are sure to be losers. To flatter them into a contempt of faith, truth, and justice, is to ruin them; for in these virtues consists their whole safety. To flatter any man, or any part of mankind, in any description, by asserting, that in engagements he or they are free whilst any other human creature is bound, is ultimately to vest the rule of morality in the pleasure of those who ought to be rigidly

rigidly submitted to it ; to subject the sovereign reason of the world to the caprices of weak and giddy men.

But, as no one of us men can dispense with public or private faith, or with any other tie of moral obligation, so neither can any number of us. The number engaged in crimes, instead of turning them into laudable acts, only augments the quantity and the intensity of the guilt. I am well aware, that men love to hear of their power, but have an extreme dislike to be told of their duty. This is of course ; because every duty is a limitation of some power. Indeed arbitrary power is so much to the depraved taste of the vulgar, of the vulgar of every description, that almost all the dissensions which lacerate the commonwealth, are not concerning the manner in which it is to be exercised, but concerning the hands in which it is to be placed. Somewhere they are resolved to have it. Whether they desire it to be vested in the many or the few, depends with most men upon the chance which they imagine they themselves may have of partaking in the exercise of that arbitrary sway, in the one mode or in the other.

It is not necessary to teach men to thirst after power. But it is very expedient that, by moral instruction, they should be taught, and by their civil constitutions they should be compelled, to put many restrictions upon the immoderate exercise of it, and the inordinate desire. The best method of obtaining these two great points forms the important, but at the same time the difficult problem to the true statesman. He thinks of the place in which political power is to be lodged, with no other attention, than as it may render the more or the less practicable, its salutary restraint, and its prudent direction. For this reason no legislator, at any period of the world, has willingly placed the seat of active
H power

power in the hands of the multitude: Because there it admits of no control, no regulation, no steady direction whatsoever. The people are the natural control on authority; but to exercise and to control together is contradictory and impossible.

As the exorbitant exercise of power cannot, under popular sway, be effectually restrained, the other great object of political arrangement, the means of abating an excessive desire of it, is in such a state still worse provided for. The democrattick commonwealth is the foodful nurse of ambition. Under the other forms it meets with many restraints. Whenever, in states which have had a democrattick basis, the legislators have endeavoured to put restraints upon ambition, their methods were as violent, as in the end they were ineffectual; as violent indeed as any the most jealous despotism could invent. The ostracism could not very long save itself, and much less the state which it was meant to guard, from the attempts of ambition, one of the natural inbred incurable distempers of a powerful democracy.

But to return from this short digression, which however is not wholly foreign to the question of the effect of the will of the majority upon the form or the existence of their society. I cannot too often recommend it to the serious consideration of all men, who think civil society to be within the province of moral jurisdiction, that if we owe to it any duty, it is not subject to our will. Duties are not voluntary. Duty and will are even contradictory terms. Now though society might be at first a voluntary act (which in many cases it undoubtedly was) it continues under a permanent standing covenant, coexisting with the society; and it attaches upon every individual of that society, without any formal act of his own. This is warranted by the general practice, arising out of the general sense of mankind. Men without their choice derive benefits

nefits from that affociation; without their choice they are subjected to duties in consequence of these benefits; and without their choice they enter into a virtual obligation as binding as any that is actual. Look through the whole of life and the whole system of duties. Much the strongest moral obligations are such as were never the results of our option. I allow, that if no supreme ruler exists, wise to form, and potent to enforce, the moral law, there is no sanction to any contract, virtual or even actual, against the will of prevalent power. On that hypothesis, let any set of men be strong enough to set their duties at defiance, and they cease to be duties any longer. We have but this one appeal against irresistible power—

*Si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,
At sperate Deos memores fandi atque nefandi.*

Taking it for granted that I do not write to the disciples of the Parisian philosophy, I may assume, that the awful author of our being is the author of our place in the order of existence; and that having disposed and marshalled us by a divine tactick, not according to our will, but according to his, he has, in and by that disposition, virtually subjected us to act the part which belongs to the place assigned us. We have obligations to mankind at large, which are not in consequence of any special voluntary pact. They arise from the relation of man to man, and the relation of man to God, which relations are not matters of choice. On the contrary, the force of all the pacts which we enter into with any particular person amongst them, depends upon those prior obligations. In some cases the subordinate relations are voluntary, in others they are necessary—but the duties are all compulsive. When we marry, the choice is voluntary, but the duties are not matter of choice. They are dictated by the nature of the situation. Dark and inscrutable are

the ways by which we come into the world. The instincts which give rise to this mysterious process of nature are not of our making. But out of physical causes, unknown to us, perhaps unknowable, arise moral duties, which, as we are able perfectly to comprehend, we are bound indispensably to perform. Children are not consenting to their relation, but their relation, without their actual consent, binds them to its duties; or rather it implies their consent, because the presumed consent of every rational creature is in unison with the predisposed order of things. Men come in that manner into a community with the social state of their parents, endowed with all the benefits, loaded with all the duties of their situation. If the social ties and ligaments, spun out of those physical relations which are the elements of the commonwealth, in most cases begin, and always continue, independently of our will, so does that relation called our country, which comprehends (as it has been well said) “* all the charities of all,” bind us to it without any stipulation on our part. Nor are we left without powerful instincts to make this duty as dear and grateful to us, as it is awful and coercive. Our country is not a thing of mere physical locality. It consists, in a great measure, in the ancient order into which we are born. We may have the same geographical situation, but another country; as we may have the same country in another soil. The place that determines our duty to our country is a social, civil relation.

These are the opinions of the author whose cause I defend. I lay them down not to enforce them upon others by disputation, but as an account of his proceedings. On them he acts; and from them he is convinced that neither he, nor any man,

* Omnes omnium charitates patria una complectitur. Cic.

or number of men, have a right (except what necessity, which is out of and above all rule, rather imposes than bestows) to free themselves from that primary engagement into which every man born into a community as much contracts by his being born into it, as he contracts an obligation to certain parents by his having been derived from their bodies. The place of every man determines his duty. If you ask, *Quem te Deus esse jussit?* You will be answered when you resolve this other question, *Humana qua parte locatus es in re**?

I admit, indeed, that in morals, as in all things else, difficulties will sometimes occur. Duties will sometimes cross one-another. Then questions will arise, which of them is to be placed in subordination; which of them may be entirely superseded? These doubts give rise to that part of moral science called *casuistry*; which, though necessary to be well studied by those who would become expert in that learning, who aim at becoming what, I think Cicero somewhere calls, *artifices officiorum*; it requires a very solid and discriminating judgment, great modesty and caution, and much sobriety of mind in the handling; else there is a danger that it may totally subvert those offices which it is its object only to methodize and reconcile. Duties, at their extreme bounds, are drawn very fine, so as to become almost evanescent. In that state, some shade of doubt will always rest on these questions, when they are pursued with great subtilty. But the

* A few lines in Persius contain a good summary of all the objects of moral investigation, and hint the result of our enquiry: There human will has no place,

*Quid sumus? et quidnam victuri gignimur? ordo
Quis datus? et meæ quis mollis flexus et unde?
Quis modus argento? Quid fas optare? Quid asper
Utile nummus habet? Patriæ charisque propinquis
Quantum elargiri debeat?—Quem te Deus esse
Jussit?—et humana qua parte locatus es in re?*

very habit of stating these extreme cases is not very laudable or safe : because, in general, it is not right to turn our duties into doubts. They are imposed to govern our conduct, not to exercise our ingenuity ; and therefore, our opinions about them ought not to be in a state of fluctuation, but steady, sure, and resolved.

Amongst these nice, and therefore dangerous, points of casuistry may be reckoned the question so much agitated in the present hour—Whether, after the people have discharged themselves of their original power by an habitual delegation, no occasion can possibly occur which may justify their resumption of it ? This question, in this latitude, is very hard to affirm or deny : but I am satisfied that no occasion can justify such a resumption, which would not equally authorize a dispensation with any other moral duty, perhaps with all of them together. However, if in general it be not easy to determine concerning the lawfulness of such devious proceedings, which must be ever on the edge of crimes, it is far from difficult to foresee the perilous consequences of the resuscitation of such a power in the people. The practical consequences of any political tenet go a great way in deciding upon its value. Political problems do not primarily concern truth or falsehood. They relate to good or evil. What in the result is likely to produce evil, is politically false : that which is productive of good, politically is true.

Believing it therefore a question at least arduous in the theory, and in the practice very critical, it would well become us to ascertain, as well as we can, what form it is that our incantations are about to call up from darkness and the sleep of ages. When the supreme authority of the people is in question, before we attempt to extend or to confine it, we ought to fix in our minds, with some degree
of

of distinctness, an idea of what it is we mean when we say the PEOPLE.

In a state of *rude* nature there is no such thing as a people. A number of men in themselves have no collective capacity. The idea of a people is the idea of a corporation. It is wholly artificial; and made like all other legal fictions by common agreement. What the particular nature of that agreement was, is collected from the form into which the particular society has been cast. Any other is not *their* covenant. When men, therefore, break up the original compact or agreement which gives its corporate form and capacity to a state, they are no longer a people; they have no longer a corporate existence; they have no longer a legal coactive force to bind within, nor a claim to be recognized abroad. They are a number of vague loose individuals, and nothing more. With them all is to begin again. Alas! they little know how many a weary step is to be taken before they can form themselves into a mass, which has a true politic personality.

We hear much from men, who have not acquired their hardness of assertion from the profundity of their thinking, about the omnipotence of a *majority*, in such a dissolution of an ancient society as hath taken place in France. But amongst men so disbanded, there can be no such thing as majority or minority; or power in any one person to bind another. The power of acting by a majority, which the gentlemen theorists seem to assume so readily, after they have violated the contract out of which it has arisen, (if at all it existed) must be grounded on two assumptions; first, that of an incorporation produced by unanimity; and secondly, an unanimous agreement, that the act of a mere majority (say of one) shall pass with them and with others as the act of the whole.

We are so little affected by things which are habitual, that we consider this idea of the decision of a *majority* as if it were a law of our original nature : But such constructive whole, residing in a part only, is one of the most violent fictions of positive law, that ever has been or can be made on the principles of artificial incorporation. Out of civil society nature knows nothing of it ; nor are men, even when arranged according to civil order, otherwise than by very long training, brought at all to submit to it. The mind is brought far more easily to acquiesce in the proceedings of one man, or a few, who act under a general procuration for the state, than in the vote of a victorious majority in councils in which every man has his share in the deliberation. For there the beaten party are exasperated and soured by the previous contention, and mortified by the conclusive defeat. This mode of decision, where wills may be so nearly equal, where, according to circumstances, the smaller number may be the stronger force, and where apparent reason may be all upon one side, and on the other little else than impetuous appetite ; all this must be the result of a very particular and special convention, confirmed afterwards by long habits of obedience, by a sort of discipline in society, and by a strong hand, vested with stationary permanent power, to enforce this sort of constructive general will. What organ it is that shall declare the corporate mind is so much a matter of positive arrangement, that several states, for the validity of several of their acts, have required a proportion of voices much greater than that of a mere majority. These proportions are so entirely governed by convention, that in some cases the minority decides. The laws in many countries to *condemn* require more than a mere majority ; less than an equal number to *acquit*. In our judicial trials we require unanimity either to condemn or to absolve. In some incor-

corporations one man speaks for the whole ; in others, a few. Until the other day, in the constitution of Poland, unanimity was required to give validity to any act of their great national council or diet. This approaches much more nearly to rude nature than the institutions of any other country. Such, indeed, every commonwealth must be, without a positive law to recognize in a certain number the will of the entire body.

If men dissolve their antient incorporation, in order to regenerate their community, in that state of things each man has a right, if he pleases, to remain an individual. Any number of individuals, who can agree upon it, have an undoubted right to form themselves into a state apart and wholly independent. If any of these is forced into the fellowship of another, this is conquest and not compact. On every principle, which supposes society to be in virtue of a free covenant, this compulsive incorporation must be null and void.

As a people can have no right to a corporate capacity without universal consent, so neither have they a right to hold exclusively any lands in the name and title of a corporation. On the scheme of the present rulers in our neighbouring country, regenerated as they are, they have no more right to the territory called France than I have. I have a right to pitch my tent in any unoccupied place I can find for it ; and I may apply to my own maintenance any part of their unoccupied soil. I may purchase the house or vineyard of any individual proprietor who refuses his consent (and most proprietors have, as far as they dared, refused it) to the new incorporation. I stand in his independent place. Who are these insolent men calling themselves the French nation, that would monopolize this fair domain of nature ? Is it because they speak a certain jargon ? Is it their mode of chattering, to me unintelligible,

gible, that forms their title to my land? Who are they who claim by prescription and descent from certain gangs of banditti called Franks, and Burgundians, and Visigoths, of whom I may have never heard, and ninety-nine out of an hundred of themselves certainly never have heard; whilst at the very time they tell me, that prescription and long possession form no title to property? Who are they that presume to assert that the land which I purchased of the individual, a natural person, and not a fiction of state, belongs to them, who in the very capacity in which they make their claim can exist only as an imaginary being, and in virtue of the very prescription which they reject and disown? This mode of arguing might be pushed into all the detail, so as to leave no sort of doubt, that on their principles, and on the sort of footing on which they have thought proper to place themselves, the crowd of men on the other side of the channel, who have the impudence to call themselves a people, can never be the lawful exclusive possessors of the soil. By what they call reasoning without prejudice, they leave not one stone upon another in the fabric of human society. They subvert all the authority which they hold, as well as all that which they have destroyed.

As in the abstract, it is perfectly clear, that, out of a state of civil society, majority and minority are relations which can have no existence; and that in civil society, its own specific conventions in each incorporation, determine what it is that constitutes the people, so as to make their act the signification of the general will; to come to particulars, it is equally clear, that neither in France nor in England has the original, or any subsequent compact of the state, expressed or implied, constituted *a majority of men, told by the head*, to be the acting people of their several communities. And I see as little of policy or utility,

lity, as there is of right, in laying down a principle that a majority of men told by the head are to be considered as the people, and that as such their will is to be law. What policy can there be found in arrangements made in defiance of every political principle? To enable men to act with the weight and character of a people, and to answer the ends for which they are incorporated into that capacity, we must suppose them (by means immediate or consequential) to be in that state of habitual social discipline, in which the wiser, the more expert, and the more opulent, conduct, and by conducting enlighten and protect the weaker, the less knowing, and the less provided with the goods of fortune. When the multitude are not under this discipline, they can scarcely be said to be in civil society. Give once a certain constitution of things, which produces a variety of conditions and circumstances in a state, and there is in nature and reason a principle which, for their own benefit, postpones, not the interest but the judgment, of those who are *numero plures*, to those who are *virtute et honore majores*. Numbers in a state (supposing, which is not the case in France, that a state does exist) are always of consideration—but they are not the whole consideration. It is in things more serious than a play, that it may be truly said, *satis est equitem mihi plaudere*.

A true natural aristocracy is not a separate interest in the state, or separable from it. It is an essential integrant part of any large people rightly constituted. It is formed out of a class of legitimate presumptions, which, taken as generalities, must be admitted for actual truths. To be bred in a place of estimation; To see nothing low and sordid from one's infancy; To be taught to respect one's self; To be habituated to the censorial inspection of the public eye; To look early to public opinion; To stand upon such elevated ground

ground as to be enabled to take a large view of the wide-spread and infinitely diversified combinations of men and affairs in a large society ; To have leisure to read, to reflect, to converse ; To be enabled to draw the court and attention of the wise and learned wherever they are to be found ;—To be habituated in armies to command and to obey ; To be taught to despise danger in the pursuit of honour and duty ; To be formed to the greatest degree of vigilance, foresight, and circumspection, in a state of things in which no fault is committed with impunity, and the slightest mistakes draw on the most ruinous consequences—To be led to a guarded and regulated conduct, from a sense that you are considered as an instructor of your fellow-citizens in their highest concerns, and that you act as a reconciler between God and man—To be employed as an administrator of law and justice, and to be thereby amongst the first benefactors to mankind—To be a professor of high science, or of liberal and ingenuous art—To be amongst rich traders, who from their success are presumed to have sharp and vigorous understandings, and to possess the virtues of diligence, order, constancy, and regularity, and to have cultivated an habitual regard to commutative justice—These are the circumstances of men, that form what I should call a *natural* aristocracy, without which there is no nation.

The state of civil society, which necessarily generates this aristocracy, is a state of nature ; and much more truly so than a savage and incoherent mode of life. For man is by nature reasonable ; and he is never perfectly in his natural state, but when he is placed where reason may be best cultivated, and most predominates. Art is man's nature. We are as much, at least, in a state of nature in formed manhood, as in immature and helpless infancy. Men qualified in the manner I have just described, form in nature,

nature, as she operates in the common modification of society, the leading, guiding, and governing part. It is the soul to the body, without which the man does not exist. To give therefore no more importance, in the social order, to such descriptions of men, than that of so many units, is an horrible usurpation.

When great multitudes act together, under that discipline of nature, I recognize the PEOPLE. I acknowledge something that perhaps equals, and ought always to guide, the sovereignty of convention. In all things the voice of this grand chorus of national harmony ought to have a mighty and decisive influence. But when you disturb this harmony; when you break up this beautiful order, this array of truth and nature, as well as of habit and prejudice; when you separate the common sort of men from their proper chieftains so as to form them into an adverse army, I no longer know that venerable object called the people in such a disbanded race of deserters and vagabonds. For a while they may be terrible indeed; but in such a manner as wild beasts are terrible. The mind owes to them no sort of submission. They are, as they have always been reputed, rebels. They may lawfully be fought with, and brought under, whenever an advantage offers. Those who attempt by outrage and violence to deprive men of any advantage which they hold under the laws, and to destroy the natural order of life, proclaim war against them.

We have read in history of that furious insurrection of the common people in France called the *Jacquerie*; for this is not the first time that the people have been enlightened into treason, murder, and rapine. Its object was to extirpate the gentry. The *Capitain de Buche*, a famous soldier of those days, dishonoured the name of a gentleman and of a man by taking, for their cruelties, a cruel vengeance on these deluded wretches: It was, however, his right
and

and his duty to make war upon them, and afterwards, in moderation, to bring them to punishment for their rebellion; though in the sense of the French revolution, and of some of our clubs, they were the *people*; and were truly so, if you will call by that appellation *any majority of men told by the head*.

At a time not very remote from the same period (for these humours never have affected one of the nations without some influence on the other) happened several risings of the lower commons in England. These insurgents were certainly the majority of the inhabitants of the counties in which they resided; and Cade, Ket, and Straw, at the head of their national guards, and fomented by certain traitors of high rank, did no more than exert, according to the doctrines of ours and the Parisian societies, the sovereign power inherent in the majority.

We call the time of those events a dark age. Indeed we are too indulgent to our own proficiency. The Abbé John Ball understood the rights of man as well as the Abbé Gregoire. That reverend patriarch of sedition, and prototype of our modern preachers, was of opinion with the national assembly, that all the evils which have fallen upon men had been caused by an ignorance of their "having been born and continued equal as to their rights." Had the populace been able to repeat that profound maxim all would have gone perfectly well with them. No tyranny, no vexation, no oppression, no care, no sorrow, could have existed in the world. This would have cured them like a charm for the tooth-ach. But the lowest wretches, in their most ignorant state, were able at all times to talk such stuff; and yet at all times have they suffered many evils and many oppressions, both before and since the republication by the national assembly of this spell of healing potency and virtue. The enlightened Dr. Ball, when he wished to rekindle the lights
and

and fires of his audience on this point, chose for the text the following couplet:

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?

Of this sapient maxim, however, I do not give him for the inventor. It seems to have been handed down by tradition, and had certainly become proverbial; but whether then composed, or only applied, thus much must be admitted, that in learning, sense, energy, and comprehensiveness, it is fully equal to all the modern dissertations on the equality of mankind; and it has one advantage over them,—that it is in rhyme*.

There is no doubt, but that this great teacher of the rights of man decorated his discourse on this valuable text, with lemmas, theorems, scholia, corollaries,

* It is no small loss to the world, that the whole of this enlightened and philosophic sermon, preached to *two hundred thousand* national guards assembled at Blackheath (a number probably equal to the sublime and majestic *Federation* of the 14th of July 1790, in the *Champs de Mars*) is not preserved. A short abstract is, however, to be found in Walsingham. I have added it here for the edification of the modern Whigs, who may possibly except this precious little fragment from their general contempt of antient learning.

Ut suâ doctrinâ plures iniceret ad le Blackheth (ubi ducenta millia hominum communium fuere simul congregata) hujusce-modi sermonem est exorsus.

Whan Adam dalf, and Evé span, who was than a gentleman?

Continuansque sermonem inceptum nitebatur per verba pro-verbii quod pro themate sumpserat, introducere & probare, *ab initio omnes pares creatos à naturâ*, servitutem per injustam oppressionem nequam hominum introductam contra Dei voluntatem, quia si Deo placuisset servos creâsse, utique in principio mundi constituisset, quis servus, quisve dominus futurus fuisset. Considerarent igitur jam tempus à Deo datum eis, in quo (deposito servitutis jugo diutius) possent si vellent, libertate diu concupitâ gaudere. Quapropter monuit ut essent viri cordati, & amore boni patrisfamilias excolentis agrum suum & extirpantis ac resceantis noxia gramina quæ fruges solent opprimere,

corollaries, and all the apparatus of science, which was furnished in as great plenty and perfection out of the dogmatic and polemic magazines, the old horse-armory, of the schoolmen, among whom the
Rev.

opprimere, & ipsi in præsentî facere festinarent; primò *maiores regni dominos occidendo*; deindè *juridicos, justiciarios & juratores patriæ perimendo*; postremò quoscunque scirent *in posterum communitati nocivos*: tollerent de terrâ suâ: sic demum & pacem sibi met parerent & securitatem in futurum; si sublati majoribus esset inter eos æqua libertas, eadem nobilitas, par dignitas, similisque potestas.

Here is displayed at once the whole of the grand arcanum pretended to be found out by the national assembly, for securing future happiness, peace, and tranquillity. There seems however to be some doubt whether this venerable protomartyr of philosophy was inclined to carry his own declaration of the rights of men more rigidly into practice than the national assembly themselves. He was, like them, only preaching licentiousness to the populace to obtain power for himself, if we may believe what is subjoined by the historian.

Cumque hæc & *plura alia deliramenta* [think of this old fool's calling all the wise maxims of the French academy *deliramenta*] prædicasset, commune vulgus cum tanto favore prosequitur, ut *acclamarent eum archiepiscopum futurum, & regni cancellarium*. Whether he would have taken these situations under these names, or would have changed the whole nomenclature of the state and church, to be understood in the sense of the Revolution, is not so certain. It is probable that he would have changed the names and kept the substance of power.

We find too, that they had in those days their *Society for constitutional information*, of which the reverend John Ball was a conspicuous member, sometimes under his own name, sometimes under the feigned name of John Schep. Besides him it consisted (as Knyghton tells us) of persons who went by the real or fictitious names of Jack Mylner, Tom Baker, Jack Straw, Jack Trewman, Jack Carter, and probably of many more. Some of the choicest flowers of the publications, charitably written and circulated by them gratis, are upon record in Walsingham and Knyghton: and I am inclined to prefer the pithy and sententious brevity of these *bulletins* of ancient rebellion, before the loose and confused prolixity of the modern advertisements of constitutional information. They contain more good morality, and less bad politics; they had much more foundation in real oppression; and they have the recommendation of being much better adapted to the capacities of those for whose in-
struction

Rev. Dr. Ball was bred, as they can be supplied from the new arsenal at Hackney. It was, no doubt, disposed with all the adjutancy of definition and

struction they were intended. Whatever laudable pains the teachers of the present day appear to take, I cannot compliment them, so far as to allow, that they have succeeded in writing down to the level of their pupils, *the members of the sovereign*, with half the ability of Jack Carter and the reverend John Ball.—That my readers may judge for themselves, I shall give them one or two specimens.

The first is an address from the reverend John Ball under his *nom de guerre* of John Schep. I know not against what particular "guyle in borough" the writer means to caution the people; it may have been only a general cry against "*rotten boroughs*," which it was thought convenient then as now to make the first pretext, and place at the head of the list of grievances.

JOHN SCHEP.

John Schep sometime Seint Mary Priest of Yorke, and now of Colchester, greeteth well John Namelesse, & John the Miller & John Carter, and *biddeth them that they beware of guyle in borough*, and stand together in God's name; and biddeth Piers Plowman goe to his werke, and chastise well *Hob the robber*, [probably the king] and take with you John Trewman, and all his fellows and no moe.

John the Miller hath yground smal, smal, small :
The King's Sonne of Heaven shal pay for all.
Beware or ye be woe,
Know your frende fro your foe.
Have enough and say hoe :
And do wel and better, and flee sinne,
And seeke peace and bolde you therein;

& so biddeth John Trewman, & all his fellowes.

The reader has perceived, from the last lines of this curious state paper, how well the national assembly has copied its union of the profession of universal peace, with the practice of murder and confusion, and the blast of the trumpet of sedition in all nations. He will, in the following constitutional paper, observe how well, in their enigmatical style, like the assembly and their abettors, the old philosophers proscribe all hereditary distinction, and bestow it only on virtue and wisdom, according to their estimation of both. Yet these people are supposed never to have heard of "the rights of man!"

JACK MYLNER.

Jakke Mylner asketh help to turne his mylne aright.

He hath grounden smal, smal,
The King's Sone of Heaven he shall pay for alle.

I

Loke

and division, in which (I speak it with submission) the old marshals were as able as the modern martinets. Neither can we deny, that the philosophic auditory, when they had once obtained this knowledge, could never return to their former ignorance; or after so instructive a lecture be in the same state of mind as if they had never heard it *. But these poor people, who were not to be envied for their knowledge, but pitied for their delusion, were not reasoned (that was impossible) but beaten out of their lights. With their teacher they were delivered over to the lawyers; who wrote in their blood the statutes of the land, as harshly, and in the same sort of ink, as they and their teachers had written the rights of man.

Our doctors of the day are not so fond of quoting the opinions of this antient sage as they are of

Loke thy mylne go a rryt with the four sayles, and the post stande in steadfastnesse.

With rryt & with myyt,
With skill & with wylle,
Lat myyt help rryt,
And skyl go before wille,
And rryht before myght,
Than goth our mylne aryght.
And if myght go before ryght,
And wylle before skylle;
Than is our mylne mys-a-dyght.

JACK CARTER understood perfectly the doctrine of looking to the *end*, with an indifference to the *means*, and the probability of much good arising from great evil.

Jakke Carter prayes yowe alle that ye make a gode *ende* of that ye have begunnen, & doth wele and ay bettur & bettur, for at the even men heryth the day. *For if the ende be wele than is alle wele.* Lat Peres the plowman my brother dwelle at home and dyght us corne, & I will go with yowe & helpe, that I may, to dyghte youre mete and youre drynke, that ye none fayle. Lokke that Hobbe robbyoure be wele chafysed for lesyng of your grace; for ye have gret nede to take God with yowe in all your dedes. For now is tyme to be war.

* See the wise-remark on this subject, in the Defence of Rights of Man; circulated by the societies.

imitating

imitating his conduct; First, because it might appear, that they are not as great inventors as they would be thought; and next, because, unfortunately for his fame, he was not successful. It is a remark, liable to as few exceptions as any generality can be, that they who applaud prosperous folly, and adore triumphant guilt, have never been known to succour or even to pity human weakness or offence when they become subject to human vicissitude, and meet with punishment instead of obtaining power. Abating for their want of sensibility to the sufferings of their associates, they are not so much in the wrong: for madness and wickedness are things foul and deformed in themselves; and stand in need of all the coverings and trappings of fortune to recommend them to the multitude. Nothing can be more loathsome in their naked nature.

Aberrations like these, whether antient or modern, unsuccessful or prosperous, are things of passage. They furnish no argument for supposing *a multitude told by the head to be the people*. Such a multitude can have no sort of title to alter the seat of power in the society, in which it ever ought to be the obedient, and not the ruling or presiding part. What power may belong to the whole mass, in which mass, the natural *aristocracy*, or what by convention is appointed to represent and strengthen it, acts in its proper place, with its proper weight, and without being subjected to violence, is a deeper question. But in that case, and with that concurrence, I should have much doubt whether any rash or desperate changes in the state, such as we have seen in France, could ever be effected.

I have said, that in all political questions the consequences of any assumed rights are of great moment in deciding upon their validity. In this point of view let us a little scrutinize the effects of a right in the mere majority of the inhabitants of any

country of superseding and altering their government *at pleasure.*

The sum total of every people is composed of its units. Every individual must have a right to originate what afterwards is to become the act of the majority. Whatever he may lawfully originate, he may lawfully endeavour to accomplish. He has a right therefore in his own particular to break the ties and engagement which bind him to the country in which he lives; and he has a right to make as many converts to his opinions, and to obtain as many associates in his designs, as he can procure: For how can you know the dispositions of the majority to destroy their government, but by tampering with some part of the body? You must begin by a secret conspiracy, that you may end with a national confederation. The mere pleasure of the beginner must be the sole guide; since the mere pleasure of others must be the sole ultimate sanction, as well as the sole actuating principle in every part of the progress. Thus arbitrary will (the last corruption of ruling power) step by step, poisons the heart of every citizen. If the undertaker fails, he has the misfortune of a rebel, but not the guilt. By such doctrines, all love to our country, all pious veneration and attachment to its laws and customs, are obliterated from our minds; and nothing can result from this opinion, when grown into a principle, and animated by discontent, ambition, or enthusiasm, but a series of conspiracies and seditions, sometimes ruinous to their authors, always noxious to the state. No sense of duty can prevent any man from being a leader or a follower in such enterprizes. Nothing restrains the tempter; nothing guards the tempted. Nor is the new state, fabricated by such arts, safer than the old. What can prevent the mere will of any person, who hopes to

8

unite

unite the wills of others to his own, from an attempt wholly to overturn it? It wants nothing but a disposition to trouble the established order, to give a title to the enterprize.

When you combine this principle of the right to change a fixed and tolerable constitution of things at pleasure, with the theory and practice of the French assembly, the political, civil, and moral irregularity are if possible aggravated. The assembly have found another road, and a far more commodious, to the destruction of an old government, and the legitimate formation of a new one, than through the previous will of the majority of what they call the people. Get, say they, the possession of power by any means you can into your hands; and then a subsequent consent (what they call an *address of adhesion*) makes your authority as much the act of the people as if they had conferred upon you originally that kind and degree of power, which, without their permission, you had seized upon. This is to give a direct sanction to fraud, hypocrisy, perjury, and the breach of the most sacred trusts that can exist between man and man. What can sound with such horrid discordance in the moral ear, as this position, That a delegate with limited powers may break his sworn engagements to his constituent, assume an authority, never committed to him, to alter all things at his pleasure; and then, if he can persuade a large number of men to flatter him in the power he has usurped, that he is absolved in his own conscience, and ought to stand acquitted in the eyes of mankind? On this scheme the maker of the experiment must begin with a determined perjury. That point is certain. He must take his chance for the expiatory addresses. This is to make the success of villainy the standard of innocence.

Without drawing on, therefore, very shocking consequences, neither by previous consent, nor by subsequent

subsequent ratification of a *mere reckoned majority*, can any set of men attempt to dissolve the state at their pleasure. To apply this to our present subject. When the several orders, in their several bailliages, had met in the year 1789, such of them, I mean, as had met peaceably and constitutionally, to choose and to instruct their representatives, so organized, and so acting, (because they were organized and were acting according to the conventions which made them a people) they were the *people* of France. They had a legal and a natural capacity to be considered as that people. But observe, whilst they were in this state, that is, whilst they were a people, in no one of their instructions did they charge or even hint at any of those things, which have drawn upon the usurping assembly, and their adherents, the detestation of the rational and thinking part of mankind. I will venture to affirm, without the least apprehension of being contradicted by any person who knows the then state of France, that if any one of the changes were proposed, which form the fundamental parts of their revolution, and compose its most distinguishing acts, it would not have had one vote in twenty thousand in any order. Their instructions purported the direct contrary to all those famous proceedings, which are defended as the acts of the people. Had such proceedings been expected, the great probability is, that the people would then have risen, as to a man, to prevent them. The whole organization of the assembly was altered, the whole frame of the kingdom was changed, before these things could be done. It is long to tell, by what evil arts of the conspirators, and by what extreme weakness and want of steadiness in the lawful government, this equal usurpation on the rights of the prince and people, having first cheated, and then offered violence to both, has been able to triumph, and to employ with success the forged
signature

signature of an imprisoned sovereign, and the spurious voice of dictated addresses, to a subsequent ratification of things that had never received any previous sanction, general or particular, expressed or implied, from the nation (in whatever sense that word is taken) or from any part of it.

After the weighty and respectable part of the people had been murdered, or driven by the menaces of murder from their houses, or were dispersed in exile into every country in Europe; after the soldiery had been debauched from their officers; after property had lost its weight and consideration, along with its security; after voluntary clubs and associations of factious and unprincipled men were substituted in the place of all the legal corporations of the kingdom arbitrarily dissolved; after freedom had been banished from * those popular meetings, whose sole recommendation is freedom — After it had come to that pass, that no dissent dared to appear in any of them, but at the certain price of life; after even dissent had been anticipated, and assassination became as quick as suspicion; such pretended ratification by addresses could be no act of what any lover of the people would choose to call by their name. It is that voice which every successful usurpation, as well as this before us, may easily procure, even without making (as these tyrants have made) donatives from the spoil of one part of the citizens to corrupt the other.

The pretended *rights of man*, which have made this havock, cannot be the rights of the people. For to be a people, and to have these rights, are things incompatible. The one supposes the presence, the other the absence of a state of civil society. The very foundation of the French commonwealth is false and self-destructive; nor can its

* The primary assemblies.

principles be adopted in any country, without the certainty of bringing it to the very same condition in which France is found. Attempts are made to introduce them into every nation in Europe. This nation, as possessing the greatest influence, they wish most to corrupt, as by that means they are assured the contagion must become general. I hope, therefore, I shall be excused, if I endeavour to shew, as shortly as the matter will admit, the danger of giving to them, either avowedly or tacitly, the smallest countenance.

There are times and circumstances, in which not to speak out is at least to connive. Many think it enough for them, that the principles propagated by these clubs and societies enemies to their country and its constitution, are not owned by the *modern Whigs in parliament*, who are so warm in condemnation of Mr. Burke and his book, and of course of all the principles of the ancient constitutional Whigs of this kingdom. Certainly they are not owned. But are they condemned with the same zeal as Mr. Burke and his book are condemned? Are they condemned at all? Are they rejected or discountenanced in any way whatsoever? Is any man who would fairly examine into the demeanour and principles of those societies, and that too very moderately, and in the way rather of admonition than of punishment, is such a man even decently treated? Is he not reproached, as if, in condemning such principles, he had belied the conduct of his whole life, suggesting that his life had been governed by principles similar to those which he now reprobates? The French system is in the mean time, by many active agents out of doors, rapturously praised; The British constitution is coldly tolerated. But these constitutions are different, both in the foundation and in the whole superstructure; and it is plain, that you cannot build up the one but on the ruins

ruins of the other. After all, if the French be a superior system of liberty, why should we not adopt it? To what end are our praises? Is excellence held out to us only that we should not copy after it? And what is there in the manners of the people, or in the climate of France, which renders that species of republic fitted for them, and unsuitable to us? A strong and marked difference between the two nations ought to be shewn, before we can admit a constant affected panegyrick, a standing annual commemoration, to be without any tendency to an example.

But the leaders of party will not go the length of the doctrines taught by the seditious clubs. I am sure they do not mean to do so. God forbid! Perhaps even those who are directly carrying on the work of this pernicious foreign faction, do not all of them intend to produce all the mischiefs which must inevitably follow from their having any success in their proceedings. As to leaders in parties, nothing is more common than to see them blindly led. The world is governed by go-betweens. These go-betweens influence the persons with whom they carry on the intercourse, by stating their own sense to each of them as the sense of the other; and thus they reciprocally master both sides. It is first buzzed about the ears of leaders, "that their friends without doors
 " are very eager for some measure, or very warm
 " about some opinion—that you must not be
 " too rigid with them. They are useful persons, and
 " zealous in the cause. They may be a little wrong;
 " but the spirit of liberty must not be damped; and
 " by the influence you obtain from some degree of
 " concurrence with them at present, you may be
 " enabled to set them right hereafter."

Thus the leaders are at first drawn to a connivance with sentiments and proceedings, often totally different from their serious and deliberate notions.

notions. But their acquiescence answers every purpose.

With no better than such powers, the go-betweens assume a new representative character. What at best was but an acquiescence, is magnified into an authority, and thence into a desire on the part of the leaders; and it is carried down as such to the subordinate members of parties. By this artifice they in their turn are led into measures which at first, perhaps, few of them wished at all, or at least did not desire vehemently or systematically.

There is in all parties, between the principal leaders in parliament, and the lowest followers out of doors, a middle sort of men; a sort of equestrian order, who, by the spirit of that middle situation, are the fittest for preventing things from running to excess. But indecision, though a vice of a totally different character, is the natural accomplice of violence. The irresolution and timidity of those who compose this middle order, often prevents the effect of their controlling situation. The fear of differing with the authority of leaders on the one hand, and of contradicting the desires of the multitude on the other, induces them to give a careless and passive assent to measures in which they never were consulted; and thus things proceed, by a sort of activity of inertness, until whole bodies, leaders, middle-men, and followers, are all hurried, with every appearance, and with many of the effects, of unanimity, into schemes of politics, in the substance of which no two of them were ever fully agreed, and the origin and authors of which, in this circular mode of communication, none of them find it possible to trace. In my experience I have seen much of this in affairs, which, though trifling in comparison to the present, were yet of some importance to parties; and I have known them suffer by it. The sober part give their sanction, at first through
 3 inattention

inattention and levity ; at last they give it through necessity. A violent spirit is raised, which the presiding minds, after a time, find it impracticable to stop at their pleasure, to control, to regulate, or even to direct.

This shews, in my opinion, how very quick and awakened all men ought to be, who are looked up to by the public, and who deserve that confidence, to prevent a surprise on their opinions, when dogmas are spread, and projects pursued, by which the foundations of society may be affected. Before they listen even to moderate alterations in the government of their country, they ought to take care that principles are not propagated for that purpose, which are too big for their object. Doctrines limited in their present application, and wide in their general principles, are never meant to be confined to what they at first pretend. If I were to form a prognostic of the effect of the present machinations on the people, from their sense of any grievance they suffer under this constitution, my mind would be at ease. But there is a wide difference between the multitude, when they act against their government from a sense of grievance, or from zeal for some opinions. When men are thoroughly possessed with that zeal, it is difficult to calculate its force. It is certain, that its power is by no means in exact proportion to its reasonableness. It must always have been discoverable by persons of reflection, but it is now obvious to the world, that a theory concerning government may become as much a cause of fanaticism as a *dogma* in religion. There is a boundary to men's passions when they act from feeling ; none when they are under the influence of imagination. Remove a grievance, and, when men act from feeling, you go a great way towards quieting a commotion. But the good or bad conduct of a government, the protection men have en-
joyed,

joyed, or the oppression they have suffered under it, are of no sort of moment, when a faction proceeding upon speculative grounds, is thoroughly heated against its form. When a man is, from system, furious against monarchy or episcopacy, the good conduct of the monarch or the bishop has no other effect than further to irritate the adversary. He is provoked at it as furnishing a plea for preserving the thing which he wishes to destroy. His mind will be heated as much by the sight of a sceptre, a mace, or a verge, as if he had been daily bruised and wounded by these symbols of authority. Mere spectacles, mere names, will become sufficient causes to stimulate the people to war and tumult.

Some gentlemen are not terrified by the facility with which government has been overturned in France. The people of France, they say, had nothing to lose in the destruction of a bad constitution; but though not the best possible, we have still a good stake in ours, which will hinder us from desperate risques. Is this any security at all against those who seem to persuade themselves, and who labour to persuade others, that our constitution is an usurpation in its origin, unwise in its contrivance, mischievous in its effects, contrary to the rights of man, and in all its parts a perfect nuisance? What motive has any rational man, who thinks in that manner, to spill his blood, or even to risque a shilling of his fortune, or to waste a moment of his leisure, to preserve it? If he has any duty relative to it, his duty is to destroy it. A constitution on sufferance is a constitution condemned. Sentence is already passed upon it. The execution is only delayed. On the principles of these gentlemen it neither has, nor ought to have, any security. So far as regards them, it is left naked, without friends, partizans, assertors, or protectors.

Let

Let us examine into the value of this security upon the principles of those who are more sober; of those who think, indeed, the French constitution better, or at least as good, as the British, without going to all the lengths of the warmer politicians in reprobating their own. Their security amounts in reality to nothing more than this;—that the difference between their republican system and the British limited monarchy is not worth a civil war. This opinion, I admit, will prevent people not very enterprising in their nature, from an active undertaking against the British constitution. But it is the poorest defensive principle that ever was infused into the mind of man against the attempts of those who will enterprise. It will tend totally to remove from their minds that very terror of a civil war which is held out as our sole security. They who think so well of the French constitution, certainly will not be the persons to carry on a war to prevent their obtaining a great benefit, or at worst a fair exchange. They will not go to battle in favour of a cause in which their defeat might be more advantageous to the public than their victory. They must at least tacitly abet those who endeavour to make converts to a sound opinion; they must discountenance those who would oppose its propagation. In proportion as by these means the enterprising party is strengthened, the dread of a struggle is lessened. See what an encouragement this is to the enemies of the constitution! A few assassinations, and a very great destruction of property, we know they consider as no real obstacles in the way of a grand political change. And they will hope, that here, if antimonarchical opinions gain ground, as they have done in France, they may, as in France, accomplish a revolution without a war.

They who think so well of the French constitution cannot be seriously alarmed by any progress made

made by its partizans. Provisions for security are not to be received from those who think that there is no danger.—No! there is no plan of security to be listened to but from those who entertain the same fears with ourselves; from those who think that the thing to be secured is a great blessing; and the thing against which we would secure it a great mischief. Every person of a different opinion must be careless about security.

I believe the author of the Reflections, whether he fears the designs of that set of people with reason or not, cannot prevail on himself to despise them. He cannot despise them for their numbers, which, though small, compared with the sound part of the community, are not inconsiderable: he cannot look with contempt on their influence, their activity, or the kind of talents and tempers which they possess, exactly calculated for the work they have in hand, and the minds they chiefly apply to. Do we not see their most considerable and accredited ministers, and several of their party of weight and importance, active in spreading mischievous opinions, in giving sanction to seditious writings, in promoting seditious anniversaries? and what part of their description has disowned them or their proceedings? When men, circumstanced as these are, publicly declare such admiration of a foreign constitution, and such contempt of our own, it would be, in the author of the Reflections, thinking as he does of the French constitution, infamously to cheat the rest of the nation to their ruin, to say there is no danger.

In estimating danger, we are obliged to take into our calculation the character and disposition of the enemy into whose hands we may chance to fall. The genius of this faction is easily discerned by observing with what a very different eye they have viewed the late foreign revolutions. Two have passed before

fore them. That of France and that of Poland. The state of Poland was such, that there could scarcely exist two opinions, but that a reformation of its constitution, even at some expence of blood, might be seen without much disapprobation. No confusion could be feared in such an enterprize ; because the establishment to be reformed was itself a state of confusion. A king without authority ; nobles without union or subordination ; a people without arts, industry, commerce, or liberty ; no order within ; no defence without ; no effective publick force, but a foreign force, which entered a naked country at will, and disposed of every thing at pleasure. Here was a state of things which seemed to invite and might perhaps justify bold enterprize and desperate experiment. But in what manner was this chaos brought into order ? The means were as striking to the imagination, as satisfactory to the reason, and soothing to the moral sentiments. In contemplating that change, humanity has every thing to rejoice and to glory in ; nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to suffer. So far as it has gone, it probably is the most pure and defecated public good which ever has been conferred on mankind. We have seen anarchy and servitude at once removed ; a throne strengthened for the protection of the people, without trenching on their liberties ; all foreign cabal banished ; by changing the crown from elective to hereditary ; and what was a matter of pleasing wonder, we have seen a reigning king, from an heroic love to his country, exerting himself with all the toil, the dexterity, the management, the intrigue, in favour of a family of strangers, with which ambitious men labour for the aggrandisement of their own. Ten millions of men in a way of being freed gradually, and therefore safely to themselves and the state, not from civil or political chains, which, bad as they are, only fetter the mind, but from substantial personal

sonal bondage. Inhabitants of cities, before without privileges, placed in the consideration which belongs to that improved and connecting situation of social life. One of the most proud, numerous, and fierce bodies of nobility and gentry ever known in the world, arranged only in the foremost rank of free and generous citizens. Not one man incurred loss, or suffered degradation. All, from the king to the day-labourer, were improved in their condition. Every thing was kept in its place and order; but in that place and order every thing was bettered. To add to this happy wonder (this unheard-of conjunction of wisdom and fortune) not one drop of blood was spilled; no treachery; no outrage; no system of slander more cruel than the sword; no studied insults on religion, morals, or manners; no spoil; no confiscation; no citizen beggared; none imprisoned; none exiled: the whole was effected with a policy, a discretion, an unanimity and secrecy, such as have never been before known on any occasion; but such wonderful conduct was reserved for this glorious conspiracy in favour of the true and genuine rights and interests of men. Happy people, if they know to proceed as they have begun! Happy prince, worthy to begin with splendor, or to close with glory, a race of patriots and of kings: and to leave

A name, which every wind to heav'n would bear,
Which men to speak, and angels joy to hear.

To finish all—this great good, as in the instant it is, contains in it the seeds of all further improvement; and may be considered as in a regular progress, because founded on similar principles, towards the stable excellence of a British constitution.

Here was a matter for congratulation and for festive remembrance through ages. Here moralists and divines might indeed relax in their temperance to exhilarate their humanity. But mark the character

rafter of our faction. All their enthufiafm is kept for the French revolution. They cannot pretend that France had stood fo much in need of a change as Poland. They cannot pretend that Poland has not obtained a better fyftem of liberty or of government than it enjoyed before. They cannot affert, that the Polish revolution coft more dearly than that of France to the interefts and feelings of multitudes of men. But the cold and subordinate light in which they look upon the one, and the pains they take to preach up the other of thefe revolutions, leave us no choice in fixing on their motives. Both revolutions profefs liberty as their object; but in obtaining this object the one proceeds from anarchy to order: the other from order to anarchy. The firft fecures its liberty by eftablifhing its throne; the other builds its freedom on the fubverfion of its monarchy. In the one their means are unfained by crimes, and their fettlement favours morality. In the other, vice and confufion are in the very effence of their purfuit and of their enjoyment. The circumftances in which thefe two events differ, muft caufe the difference we make in their comparative eftimation. Thefe turn the fcale with the focieties in favour of France. *Ferrum eft quod amant.* The frauds, the violences, the facrileges, the havock and ruin of families, the difperfon and exile of the pride and flower of a great country, the diforder, the confufion, the anarchy, the violation of property, the cruel murders, the inhuman confifcations, and in the end the infolent domination of bloody, ferocious, and fenfelefs clubs.—Thefe are the things which they love and admire. What men admire and love, they would furely aft. Let us fee what is done in France; and then let us undervalue any the flighteft danger of falling into the hands of fuch a merciless and favage faction!

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‘ But the leaders of the factious societies are too wild to succeed in this their undertaking.’ I hope so. But supposing them wild and absurd, is there no danger but from wise and reflecting men? Perhaps the greatest mischiefs that have happened in the world, have happened from persons as wild as those we think the wildest. In truth, they are the fittest beginners of all great changes. Why encourage men in a mischievous proceeding, because their absurdity may disappoint their malice? ‘ But noticing them may give them consequence.’ Certainly. But they are noticed; and they are noticed, not with reproof, but with that kind of countenance which is given by an *apparent* concurrence (not a *real* one, I am convinced) of a great party, in the praises of the object which they hold out to imitation.

But I hear a language still more extraordinary, and indeed of such a nature as must suppose, or leave, us at their mercy. It is this—‘ You know their promptitude in writing, and their diligence in caballing; to write, speak, or act against them, will only stimulate them to new efforts.’—This way of considering the principle of their conduct pays but a poor compliment to these gentlemen. They pretend that their doctrines are infinitely beneficial to mankind; but it seems they would keep them to themselves, if they were not greatly provoked. They are benevolent from spite. Their oracles are like those of *Proteus* (whom some people think they resemble in many particulars) who never would give his responses unless you used him as ill as possible. These cats, it seems, would not give out their electrical light without having their backs well rubbed. But this is not to do them perfect justice. They are sufficiently communicative. Had they been quiet, the propriety of any agitation of topics on the origin and primary rights of government, in

in opposition to their private sentiments, might possibly be doubted. But, as it is notorious, that they were proceeding as fast, and as far, as time and circumstances would admit, both in their discussions and cabals—as it is not to be denied, that they had opened a correspondence with a foreign faction, the most wicked the world ever saw, and established anniversaries to commemorate the most monstrous, cruel, and perfidious of all the proceedings of that faction—the question is, whether their conduct was to be regarded in silence, lest our interference should render them outrageous? Then let them deal as they please with the constitution. Let the lady be passive, lest the ravisher should be driven to force. Resistance will only increase his desires. Yes, truly, if the resistance be feigned and feeble. But they who are wedded to the constitution will not act the part of wittols. They will drive such seducers from the house on the first appearance of their love-letters, and offered assignations. But if the author of the Reflections, though a vigilant, was not a discreet guardian of the constitution, let them who have the same regard to it, shew themselves as vigilant and more skilful in repelling the attacks of seduction or violence. Their freedom from jealousy is equivocal, and may arise as well from indifference to the object, as from confidence in her virtue.

On their principle, it is the resistance, and not the assault, which produces the danger. I admit, indeed, that if we estimated the danger by the value of the writings, it would be little worthy of our attention: contemptible these writings are in every sense. But they are not the cause; they are the disgusting symptoms, of a frightful distemper. They are not otherwise of consequence than as they shew the evil habit of the bodies from whence they come. In that light the meanest of them is a serious thing. If however I should under-rate them; and if the truth is, that

they are not the result, but the cause of the disorders I speak of, surely those who circulate operative poisons, and give, to whatever force they have by their nature, the further operation of their authority and adoption, are to be censured, watched, and, if possible, repressed.

At what distance the direct danger from such factions may be, it is not easy to fix. An adaptation of circumstances to designs and principles is necessary. But these cannot be wanting for any long time in the ordinary course of sublunary affairs. Great discontents frequently arise in the best-constituted governments, from causes which no human wisdom can foresee, and no human power can prevent. They occur at uncertain periods, but at periods which are not commonly far asunder. Governments of all kinds are administered only by men; and great mistakes, tending to inflame these discontents, may concur. The indecision of those who happen to rule at the critical time, their supine neglect, or their precipitate and ill-judged attention, may aggravate the public misfortunes. In such a state of things, the principles, now only sown, will shoot out and vegetate in full luxuriance. In such circumstances the minds of the people become sore and ulcerated. They are put out of humour with all public men, and all public parties; they are fatigued with their dissensions; they are irritated at their coalitions; they are made easily to believe, (what much pains are taken to make them believe) that all oppositions are factious, and all courtiers base and servile. From their disgust at men, they are soon led to quarrel with their frame of government, which they presume gives nourishment to the vices, real or supposed, of those who administer in it. Mistaking malignity for sagacity, they are soon led to cast off all hope from a good administration of affairs, and come to think that all reformation depends, not
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on a change of actors, but upon an alteration in the machinery. Then will be felt the full effect of encouraging doctrines which tend to make the citizens despise their constitution. Then will be felt the plenitude of the mischief of teaching the people to believe, that all antient institutions are the results of ignorance; and that all prescriptive government is in its nature usurpation. Then will be felt, in all its energy, the danger of encouraging a spirit of litigation in persons of that immature and imperfect state of knowledge which serves to render them susceptible of doubts but incapable of their solution. Then will be felt, in all its aggravation, the pernicious consequence of destroying all docility in the minds of those who are not formed for finding their own way in the labyrinths of political theory, and are made to reject the clue, and to disdain the guide. Then will be felt, and too late will be acknowledged, the ruin which follows the disjoining of religion from the state; the separation of morality from policy; and the giving conscience no concern and no coactive or coercive force in the most material of all the social ties, the principle of our obligations to government.

I know too, that besides this vain, contradictory, and self-destructive security, which some men derive from the habitual attachment of the people to this constitution, whilst they suffer it with a sort of sportive acquiescence to be brought into contempt before their faces, they have other grounds for removing all apprehension from their minds. They are of opinion, that there are too many men of great hereditary estates and influence in the kingdom, to suffer the establishment of the levelling system which has taken place in France. This is very true, if in order to guide the power, which now attends their property, these men possess the wisdom

which is involved in early fear. But if through a supine security, to which such fortunes are peculiarly liable, they neglect the use of their influence in the season of their power, on the first derangement of society, the nerves of their strength will be cut. Their estates, instead of being the means of their security, will become the very causes of their danger. Instead of bestowing influence they will excite rapacity. They will be looked to as a prey.

Such will be the impotent condition of those men of great hereditary estates, who indeed dislike the designs that are carried on, but whose dislike is rather that of spectators, than of parties that may be concerned in the catastrophe of the piece. But riches do not in all cases secure even an inert and passive resistance. There are always, in that description, men whose fortunes, when their minds are once vitiated by passion or by evil principle, are by no means a security from their actually taking their part against the public tranquillity. We see to what low and despicable passions of all kinds many men in that class are ready to sacrifice the patrimonial estates, which might be perpetuated in their families with splendor, and with the fame of hereditary benefactors to mankind from generation to generation. Do we not see how lightly people treat their fortunes when under the influence of the passion of gaming? The game of ambition or resentment will be played by many of the rich and great, as desperately, and with as much blindness to the consequences, as any other game. Was he a man of no rank or fortune, who first set on foot the disturbances which have ruined France? Passion blinded him to the consequences, so far as they concerned himself; and as to the consequences with regard to others, they were no part of his consideration; nor ever will be with those who bear any resemblance

resemblance to that virtuous patriot and lover of the rights of man.

There is also a time of insecurity, when interests of all sorts become objects of speculation. Then it is, that their very attachment to wealth and importance will induce several persons of opulence to lift themselves, and even to take a lead with the party which they think most likely to prevail, in order to obtain to themselves consideration in some new order or disorder of things. They may be led to act in this manner, that they may secure some portion of their own property; and perhaps to become partakers of the spoil of their own order. Those who speculate on change, always make a great number among people of rank and fortune, as well as amongst the low and the indigent.

What security against all this?—All human securities are liable to uncertainty. But if any thing bids fair for the prevention of so great a calamity, it must consist in the use of the ordinary means of just influence in society, whilst those means continue unimpaired. The public judgment ought to receive a proper direction. All weighty men may have their share in so good a work. As yet, notwithstanding the strutting and lying independence of a braggart philosophy, nature maintains her rights, and great names have great prevalence. Two such men as Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, adding to their authority in a point in which they concur, even by their disunion in every thing else, might frown these wicked opinions out of the kingdom. But if the influence of either of them, or the influence of men like them, should, against their serious intentions, be otherwise perverted, they may countenance opinions which (as I have said before, and could wish over and over again to press) they may in vain attempt to control. In their theory, these doctrines admit no limit, no qualification
K 4 whatsoever.

whatsoever. No man can say how far he will go, who joins with those who are avowedly going to the utmost extremities. What security is there for stopping short at all in these wild conceits? Why, neither more nor less than this—that the moral sentiments of some few amongst them do put some check on their savage theories. But let us take care. The moral sentiments, so nearly connected with early prejudice as to be almost one and the same thing, will assuredly not live long under a discipline, which has for its basis the destruction of all prejudices, and the making the mind proof against all dread of consequences flowing from the pretended truths that are taught by their philosophy.

In this school the moral sentiments must grow weaker and weaker every day. The more cautious of these teachers, in laying down their maxims, draw as much of the conclusion as suits, not with their premises, but with their policy. They trust the rest to the sagacity of their pupils. Others, and these are the most vaunted for their spirit, not only lay down the same premises, but boldly draw the conclusions to the destruction of our whole constitution in church and state. But are these conclusions truly drawn? Yes, most certainly. Their principles are wild and wicked. But let justice be done even to phrensy and villainy. These teachers are perfectly systematic. No man who assumes their grounds can tolerate the British constitution in church or state. These teachers profess to scorn all mediocrity; to engage for perfection; to proceed by the simplest and shortest course. They build their politics, not on convenience but on truth; and they profess to conduct men to certain happiness by the assertion of their undoubted rights. With them there is no compromise. All other governments are usurpations, which justify and even demand resistance.

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Their principles always go to the extreme. They who go with the principles of the ancient Whigs, which are those contained in Mr Burke's book, never can go too far. They may indeed stop short of some hazardous and ambiguous excellence, which they will be taught to postpone to any reasonable degree of good they may actually possess. The opinions maintained in that book never can lead to an extreme, because their foundation is laid in an opposition to extremes. The foundation of government is there laid, not in imaginary rights of men, (which at best is a confusion of judicial with civil principles) but in political convenience, and in human nature; either as that nature is universal, or as it is modified by local habits and social aptitudes. The foundation of government, (those who have read that book will recollect) is laid in a provision for our wants, and in a conformity to our duties; it is to purvey for the one; it is to enforce the other. These doctrines do of themselves gravitate to a middle point, or to some point near a middle. They suppose indeed a certain portion of liberty to be essential to all good government; but they infer that this liberty is to be blended into the government; to harmonize with its forms and its rules; and to be made subordinate to its end. Those who are not with that book are with its opposite. For there is no medium besides the medium itself. That medium is not such, because it is found there; but it is found there, because it is conformable to truth and nature. In this we do not follow the author; but we and the author travel together upon the same safe and middle path.

What has been said of the Roman empire, is at least as true of the British constitution—"Oßingen-
 "torum annorum fortuna, disciplinaque, compages hæc
 "coaluit; quæ corvelli sine convellentium exitio non
 "potest."—This British constitution has not been
 struck

struck out at an heat by a set of presumptuous men, like the assembly of pettifoggers run mad in Paris.

“ 'Tis not the hasty product of a day,

“ But the well-ripen'd fruit of wise delay.”

It is the result of the thoughts of many minds, in many ages. It is no simple, no superficial thing, nor to be estimated by superficial understandings. An ignorant man, who is not fool enough to meddle with his clock, is however sufficiently confident to think he can safely take to pieces, and put together at his pleasure, a moral machine of another guise importance and complexity, composed of far other wheels, and springs, and balances, and counteracting and co-operating powers. Men little think how immorally they act in rashly meddling with what they do not understand. Their delusive good intention is no sort of excuse for their presumption. They who truly mean well must be fearful of acting ill. The British constitution may have its advantages pointed out to wise and reflecting minds; but it is of too high an order of excellence to be adapted to those which are common. It takes in too many views, it makes too many combinations, to be so much as comprehended by shallow and superficial understandings. Profound thinkers will know it in its reason and spirit. The less enquiring will recognize it in their feelings and their experience. They will thank God they have a standard, which, in the most essential point of this great concern, will put them on a par with the most wise and knowing.

If we do not take to our aid the foregone studies of men reputed intelligent and learned, we shall be always beginners. But in effect, men must learn somewhere; and the new teachers mean no more than what they effect, that is, to deprive men of the benefit of the collected wisdom of mankind, and to make them blind disciples of their own particular

lar presumption. Talk to these deluded creatures, (all the disciples and most of the masters) who are taught to think themselves so newly fitted up and furnished, and you will find nothing in their houses but the refuse of *Knave's Acre*; nothing but the rotten stuff, worn out in the service of delusion and sedition in all ages, and which being newly furbished up, patched, and varnished, serves well enough for those who being unacquainted with the conflict which has always been maintained between the sense and the nonsense of mankind, know nothing of the former existence and the antient refutation of the same follies. It is near two thousand years since it has been observed, that these devices of ambition, avarice, and turbulence, were antiquated. They are, indeed, the most antient of all common places; common places, sometimes of good and necessary causes; more frequently of the worst, but which decide upon neither.

—*Eadem semper causa, libido et avaritia, et mutandarum rerum amor.*—*Ceterum libertas et speciosa nomina pretextuntur; nec quisquam alienum servitium, et dominationem sibi concupivit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet.*

Rational and experienced men, tolerably well know, and have always known, how to distinguish between true and false liberty; and between the genuine adherence and the false pretence to what is true. But none, except those who are profoundly studied, can comprehend the elaborate contrivance of a fabric fitted to unite private and public liberty with public force, with order, with peace, with justice, and, above all, with the institutions formed for bestowing permanence and stability through ages, upon this invaluable whole.

Place, for instance, before your eyes, such a man as Montesquieu. Think of a genius not born in every country, or every time; a man gifted by nature with

with a penetrating aquiline eye; with a judgment prepared with the most extensive erudition; with an herculean robustness of mind, and nerves not to be broken with labour; a man who could spend twenty years in one pursuit. Think of a man, like the universal patriarch in Milton (who had drawn up before him in his prophetic vision the whole series of the generations which were to issue from his loins) a man capable of placing in review, after having brought together, from the east, the west, the north, and the south, from the coarseness of the rudest barbarism to the most refined and subtle civilization, all the schemes of government which had ever prevailed amongst mankind, weighing, measuring, collating, and comparing them all, joining fact with theory, and calling into council, upon all this infinite assemblage of things, all the speculations which have fatigued the understandings of profound reasoners in all times!—Let us then consider, that all these were but so many preparatory steps to qualify a man, and such a man, tinctured with no national prejudice, with no domestic affection, to admire, and to hold out to the admiration of mankind the constitution of England! And shall we Englishmen revoke to such a suit? Shall we, when so much more than he has produced, remains still to be understood and admired, instead of keeping ourselves in the schools of real science, choose for our teachers men incapable of being taught, whose only claim to know is, that they have never doubted; from whom we can learn nothing but their own indocility; who would teach us to scorn what in the silence of our hearts we ought to adore?

Different from them are all the great critics. They have taught us one essential rule. I think the excellent and philosophic artist, a true judge, as well as a perfect follower of nature, Sir Joshua Reynolds has somewhere applied it, or something like it, in
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his own profession. It is this, That if ever we should find ourselves disposed not to admire those writers or artists, Livy and Virgil for instance, Raphael or Michael Angelo, whom all the learned had admired, not to follow our own fancies, but to study them until we know how and what we ought to admire; and if we cannot arrive at this combination of admiration with knowledge, rather to believe that we are dull, than that the rest of the world has been imposed on. It is as good a rule, at least, with regard to this admired constitution. We ought to understand it according to our measure; and to venerate where we are not able presently to comprehend.

Such admirers were our fathers to whom we owe this splendid inheritance. Let us improve it with zeal, but with fear. Let us follow our ancestors, men not without a rational, though without an exclusive confidence in themselves; who, by respecting the reason of others, who, by looking backward as well as forward, by the modesty as well as by the energy of their minds, went on, insensibly drawing this constitution nearer and nearer to its perfection by never departing from its fundamental principles, nor introducing any amendment which had not a subsisting root in the laws, constitution, and usages of the kingdom. Let those who have the trust of political or of natural authority ever keep watch against the desperate enterprizes of innovation: Let even their benevolence be fortified and armed. They have before their eyes the example of a monarch, insulted, degraded, confined, deposed; his family dispersed, scattered, imprisoned; his wife insulted to his face like the vilest of the sex, by the vilest of all populace; himself three times dragged by these wretches in an infamous triumph; his children torn from him, in violation of the first right of nature, and given into the tuition of the most desperate and impious of the leaders of desperate
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and impious clubs ; his revenues dilapidated and plundered ; his magistrates murdered ; his clergy proscribed, persecuted, famished ; his nobility degraded in their rank, undone in their fortunes, fugitives in their persons ; his armies corrupted and ruined ; his whole people impoverished, disunited, dissolved ; whilst through the bars of his prison, and amidst the bayonets of his keepers, he hears the tumult of two conflicting factions, equally wicked and abandoned, who agree in principles, in dispositions, and in objects, but who tear each other to pieces about the most effectual means of obtaining their common end ; the one contending to preserve for a while his name and his person, the more easily to destroy the royal authority—the other clamouring to cut off the name, the person, and the monarchy together, by one sacrilegious execution. All this accumulation of calamity, the greatest that ever fell upon one man, has fallen upon his head, because he had left his virtues unguarded by caution ; because he was not taught that where power is concerned, he who will confer benefits must take security against ingratitude.

I have stated the calamities which have fallen upon a great prince and nation, because they were not alarmed at the approach of danger, and because, what commonly happens to men surprised, they lost all resource when they were caught in it. When I speak of danger, I certainly mean to address myself to those who consider the prevalence of the new Whig doctrines as an evil.

The Whigs of this day have before them, in this Appeal, their constitutional ancestors : They have the doctors of the modern school. They will choose for themselves. The author of the Reflections has chosen for himself. If a new order is coming on, and all the political opinions must pass away as dreams, which our ancestors
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have

have worshipped as revelations, I say for him, that he would rather be the last (as certainly he is the least) of that race of men, than the first and greatest of those who have coined to themselves Whig principles from a French die, unknown to the impress of our fathers in the constitution.

F I N I S.



Gifford, John, originally John Richards Green, 1758-1818 ¹⁴⁵

A
PLAIN ADDRESS
 TO THE
COMMON SENSE
 OF
THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,
 Containing an Interesting Abstract of
PAIN'S LIFE AND WRITINGS,
 BY
J. GIFFORD, ESQ.
 AUTHOR OF THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE, NEW HISTORY OF ENG-
LAND, &c. &c.

Fear God : Honour the King.

Liberty, must always follow the fate of the *Laws* ; it must reign or
 perish with them.

ST. PETER.

ROUSSEAU.

LONDON;

Printed for the AUTHOR, sold by C. LOWNDES, No. 66,
 Drury-Lane; H. D. SYMONDS, Pater-noster-Row; and
 all other Bookfellers

1792.

ATTACHED to no party—an obscure atom in the grand mass of society—I neither write for fame nor for profit. Impressed with sentiments of loyalty to my sovereign, and with veneration for the laws and constitution of my country, I look with abhorrence on any attempt to calumniate the one, or to subvert the other. These sentiments are not the result of prejudice, but the offspring of reason: long habituated to the study of history, I have had occasion to compare the different governments of ancient and of modern states, and from such comparison have learned to appreciate the superior excellence of our own. In the contemplation of that excellence, the veneration I profess has its source: thus when I contemplate the virtues of the man, I am led to *esteem* the king whom my religion teaches me to *honour*.

For the composition of the following pages I claim no merit: they have been hastily written during a short interval of repose from more laborious studies. I have occasionally called in the opinions of others in order to fortify my own; and, if I have ever made use of their language, it has been from the conviction that it was not susceptible of improvement. This general acknowledgment will, I trust, suffice.

I am conscious that the single exertions of an obscure

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few individual like myself are greatly inadequate to the support of that cause I have undertaken to defend; but, I trust, my example will operate as a stimulus to men, whose abilities and consequence are better calculated for giving effect to their efforts. At all events I have discharged, what I conceive to be, my duty, and if I produce conviction on the mind of one honest member of society; if I fix the tottering firmness of one man, or recal another to the path of rectitude, I shall deem myself amply rewarded.

A
PLAIN ADDRESS
TO THE
COMMON SENSE
OF
THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

CONVINCED, as I am, of the sterling sense and sound principles which form the national characteristic of the people of England, I should have deemed it unnecessary to address you, at this period, had not the most insidious arts been employed to impose on your credulity, mislead your understanding, and render the native generosity of your minds subservient to the worst of purposes. Frank, open, candid, and humane—your very virtues subject you to imposition: born free, and enjoying freedom in its fullest extent, your noble spirit of independence exposes you to the dangerous machinations of the artful and designing, who, under the specious pretext of enlarging your birthright, labour to destroy the solid foundation on which all your privileges are erected.

As I wish to make myself understood, I shall not
B imitate

imitate the conduct of those who, being interested in disguising, or rather in *disfiguring*, the truth, have endeavoured to puzzle where they could not convince, and, rejecting the plain and simple language of Common Sense, have bewildered themselves and their readers in the dark mazes of abstract theorems, and in the wily labyrinths of metaphysical disquisitions. The *mode* which has been chosen for seducing you from the plain path of duty is as singular as the attempt itself is atrocious. From the peace of 1783 to the present time, England has continued in a regular state of progressive improvement; the extension of her commerce, the encrease of her trade and manufactures, and the consequent augmentation of her revenue, to a pitch unexampled in the annals of nations, have rendered her at once an object of envy and admiration to surrounding states: while this combination of advantages, joined to her excellent constitution and salutary laws, to which, indeed, those advantages may chiefly be ascribed, has justly caused her people to be considered as the happiest in Europe. Nor were you insensible to these blessings: conscious of your superiority, and grateful for its effects, you pursued your various avocations with tranquillity and content; no murmur of complaint was heard to issue from your lips; no sentiment of disquietude found a place in your hearts. Yet, in this situation you are suddenly told, that, though you *appear* happy and really *feel* so, though you boast of your freedom, and the justice of that boast has been universally admitted, yet appearances are deceitful, and credit must be refused even to the evidence of your own senses. When in the full possession of health and spirits were a quack to attempt to prove to me that I was in a high fever or a deep consumption, I should certainly have him confined as a madman or kicked as a knave.

Instead

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Instead, therefore, of swallowing, with inconsiderate haste, the deadly poison of these state empirics, administered with the view to destroy that plenitude of political health which they envy you the possession of, confinement or correction should have constituted the just reward of their pernicious prescriptions. You will doubtless acknowledge, that the existence of the disorder should be fully established, ere any attempt at the application of a remedy be made.

It will not be expected that I shall undertake to comment on every subject of complaint which these abettors of faction have been studious to propagate, and anxious to impress on your minds: defects in the system of representation; pensions without services; expence of political establishments; and augmentation of imposts; are stale topics; they have been urged and re-urged by almost every member of every opposition; have been canvassed by every editor of every factious print; and have been enforced by every popular incendiary, from Wat Tyler * to Tom

B 2

Pain

* Little as I respect the memory of Wat Tyler, yet justice may, perhaps, require that I should apologize for degrading him by an indirect kind of comparison with one so infinitely beneath him in every respect as Tom Pain. But while I make this acknowledgment, I must enter a formal protest against the eulogy pronounced on that *illustrious* character by his *illustrious* successor. Pain never attempts to convey information to his readers, without misrepresenting, either from ignorance or malice, the point he undertakes to discuss.

The resentment shewn by Wat Tyler at the indecency offered to his daughter by the Tax-Gatherer, was just and proper, and the culprit certainly deserved the severest punishment. But having inflicted that punishment, why extend his resentment to the government, who most undoubtedly never authorized the commission of such an offence? The offence was the offence of the *man* and not of the *collector*. By such conduct, Tyler, appeared to act from an impulse of personal indignation, instead of proceeding on the broader ground of concern for the welfare of his country,
evinced

Pain. To deny that such complaints are *wholly* destitute of foundation, would be to deviate from that strict regard to veracity to which I profess an inviolable adherence; but the grand fabric of the state should

evinced in the resistance of oppression. His whole behaviour, indeed, proves, beyond a doubt, that he was not influenced by any motives of a patriotic nature. The grand body of the insurgents, at a conference they had with the king at Mile-End-Green, (at which *Tyler was not present*) required a general *pardon*; the total abolition of *slavery*; freedom of commerce in market towns, without toll or impost, and a fixed rent on lands, instead of the services due by *villenage*. These requests, which, at the same time that they breathed a spirit of liberty, were founded on reason and justice, the king complied with, and immediately granted charters for their confirmation; which were no sooner received, than this body instantly dispersed, and retired to their several homes. Now, had Tyler really been that *disinterested* man which Pain represents him, would he not, since all the grievances he complained of were redressed, have followed the example of these men, and laid down his arms? Most certainly he would; but he rather chose to act *for himself*. Let us hear what Pain *says* on the subject, and what Historians *prove*.

PAIN
and
FALSHOOD.

" The court, finding itself in
" a forlorn condition, and un-
" able to make resistance, *agreed*,
" with Richard at its head, to
" hold a conference with Tyler
" in Smithfield, making many
" fair professions, courtier like,
" of its dispositions to redress
" the oppressions. While Rich-
" ard and Tyler were in con-
" versation on these matters, each
" being on horse-back, Wal-
" worth, then mayor of London,
" and one of the creatures of
" the court, *watched an oppor-*
" *tunity*, and, like a cowardly
" assassin, *stabbed Tyler with a*

HISTORY
and
TRUTH.

" During these transactions,
another body of the insurgents
had forced the gates of the tower, where they murdered Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor; and Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, with some other persons of distinction; and then extended their ravages into the city, which it was the intention of their desperate leader, *Wat Tyler*, to reduce to ashes, after *seizing the person of the king, and putting all his nobles to death*. These diabolical designs, however, were providentially frustrated by the fol-

should be viewed, not partially but collectively, when its beauties will be found so far to exceed its defects, its utility so far to overbalance its inconveniences, that the daring hand of madness alone could seek its demolition. All human institutions are, of necessity, defective, and the man who pretends to give perfec-

"dagger; and two or three
"others falling upon him, he
"was instantly sacrificed."

lowing occurrence. On the fifteenth of June, 1381, as the king was passing through Smithfield, with a stender train of sixty horse, he met Wat Tyler at the head of twenty thousand of his followers. The insolent demagogue no sooner perceived his sovereign, than he set spurs to his horse, and entered into a conference with him; having previously ordered his companions to keep back till he should give them a signal, at which they were to advance, murder all the attendants of Richard, and take the king himself prisoner. But the extreme insolence of Tyler prevented the execution of his plan, by provoking Walworth, then mayor of London, who was present, to strike him a violent blow with his mace, which felled the ruffian to the ground, when Philpot put an end to his existence, by thrusting his sword through his body!!

That the spirited exertions of the chief magistrate of the metropolis, for the suppression of tumults or the prevention of riots, should incur the resentment of the factious and designing, must rather excite indignation than occasion surprize. But we trust that the Lord Mayor of London, secure in the esteem and support of every good and worthy citizen, will never be deterred from an active and vigorous discharge of his important duties, either by the open threats of a daring incendiary, or the indirect insults of a drinking Patriot.

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tion to the works of mortals, proclaims himself a fool. Vanity, generally the vice of weak and little minds, is an inexhaustible source of infidelity and scepticism, both political and religious; man is a being, circumscribed in his ideas, confined in his faculties, and limited in his attainments; endued by the provident hand of Nature with passions and with reason peculiarly adapted to the station he is destined to fulfil, the acquisition of happiness, by a proper employment of those invaluable gifts, depends upon himself: but the moment he forsakes his native sphere, overleaps the limits and breaks down the barriers assigned him by Providence, he meets the just punishment of his arrogance and presumption, in losing the substance while he grasps at the shadow.

I shall probably be asked---Is *improvement* to be rejected because *perfection* cannot be attained? Certainly not; it constitutes the peculiar excellence of our admirable constitution, that it affords a remedy for every evil, redress for every grievance; but those remedies and that redress must be sought for in a legal and constitutional manner; by the PEOPLE through the medium of their REPRESENTATIVES, ever attentive to their interest, and anxious for their welfare. Conscious that this certain mode of obtaining redress for all real injuries subsisted, your enemies have artfully endeavoured to inspire you with a mistrust of your representatives, and all the wicked arts of calumny, supported by the most miserable sophistry, have been exerted, to render them contemptible in your eyes. I will not deny the existence of some inequality in our system of representation, but that such inequality has been productive of no evil effects, that it has not led, in the most remote degree, to the oppression of the people, the non-existence of such oppression most irrefragably proves. The most
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subtle logic, the most pompous arguments must sink before the evidence of facts, and to the experience of many years, I appeal, for the truth of this assertion---That however a spirit of party may occasionally be displayed in the deliberations of that august body, in all grand questions of national importance, in all questions, in which the welfare and happiness of the people are involved, the parliament, guided by the true principles of justice, evince a noble and disinterested spirit, superior to all private feuds and personal animosities, and discharge, with religious scrupulosity, the supreme functions with which they are entrusted by the people. The disposition of parliament to administer justice with spirit and impartiality being admitted, their *ability* cannot possibly be questioned. Moderate writers have declared their power to be *absolute and without controul*, and some have even ventured to assign them the attribute of *omnipotence**.

But

* Though I admit the policy of a wise and temperate reform in parliament, I am decidedly of opinion that any such attempt, at the present crisis, would lead to the most dangerous consequences. "If a measure be just in itself, no time can be improper for enforcing it," and "Truth is never out of season," are favourite affirmations with superficial minds, and have a wonderful effect on the thoughtless and ignorant, who are more apt to be captivated by sound, than to be moved by sense. But the least reflection will suffice to prove, that such affirmations—like most of the abstract propositions of this *philosophising* age—are extremely fallacious, and, when applied as a rule of conduct in life, either absolutely impracticable or highly pernicious. In the present rage for despising the wisdom of *past times*, the quotation of an *old proverb* may possibly subject me to the imputation of *blasphemy*; but as I am no convert to modern *omniscience*, I will even venture to assert, that the saying—"Truth is not to be spoken at all times," is not more ancient than wise. There are few men in an active sphere of life, who are not occasionally compelled to associate with many, whose principles they despise, and whose conduct

But the men, who are thus studious to point out defects in our present constitution, are not actuated by a wish that you should endeavour to improve and to meliorate it: Confusion, not order, destruction, not reform is the object of their desires, and the end of their proceedings. That they wish to promote the total annihilation of our present government is evident from their own impudent assertions*. Their sentiments are congenial with those of
Rabaud

duct they reprobate: Such an intercourse is necessary for the purposes of society, and yet it can only be maintained by a certain degree of reserve or dissimulation; for were those men to act up to the principle of always speaking the truth, the expression of their contempt, and the avowal of their reprobation, would not only break off the intercourse, but excite between them, a spirit of malice hatred and revenge, destructive of all peace and social order. The exemplification of this truth, alike applicable to public and private affairs, is within the scope of every man's daily observation.

In reply to the first affirmation, it may be observed, by way of analogy, that there are many medicines, which, administered in a particular stage of a disorder operate as specifick remedies; but, taken at a different period, have a fatal tendency. Thus, in political affairs when the minds of the people are in a state of fermentation, it is no season for reform; and as no public inconvenience has hitherto ensued from the present system of representation, the protraction of a reform till a more favourable period, cannot possibly be productive of any evil effects.

With regard to the propagators of such affirmations as those I have noticed, I shall only observe—" Their affirmations are to us no axioms; we esteem thereof as things unsaid, and account them but in list of nothing."

Brown's Vulgar Errors

* It is truly curious to observe the circumstances which have marked the conduct of the club, distinguished by the appellation of "*the Society for Constitutional Information*." Though, professedly formed for the laudable purpose of obtaining information concerning the constitution of this country, it passed a formal vote of thanks, published in all the papers, to the author of a pamphlet in which it is boldly and unequivocally asserted that *we have no Constitution at all*. But inconsistency is not the
that

Rabaud de St. Etienne, a dissenting minister, member of the first National Assembly, and of the present National Convention of France, who, in a work quoted by M. de Calonne, observes—"all the existing establishments—are so many sources of misery to the people! we must renovate that people, if we wish to promote its happiness: we must change its ideas—we must change its manners—we must change men—we must change things—we must change words—we must *destroy every thing*, yes, *destroy every thing*, since every thing is to be created anew." How far, this principle of *universal destruction* may accord with the precepts of the Gospel I leave to divines to determine; but that it will excite the abhorrence of the people of England, as an Englishman, I am proud to affirm.

The science of government, of all sciences the most difficult of attainment, has attracted the attention, and constituted the study of men, the wisest and most enlightened in every age; who have invariably admitted the lawful existence of different forms of government, as influenced by the various considera-

only nor the heaviest charge I have to prefer against this dangerous society: It has been reported, and I have particular reasons for believing the report to be true, that the members of the society have taken uncommon pains to circulate, at a considerable expence to themselves, Pain's impudent and seditious Libel; that three hundred thousand copies of that publication have been circulated by their means; that in order to facilitate the sale and encrease the circulation they tempted the Bookfellers by an extraordinary profit of cent per cent, having sold them at three-pence each copy to the trade who retailed them at six-pence; and, lastly that, *since the proclamation*, they have been studious to augment the sale, and have given orders to one printer alone to print one hundred thousand copies. Unless the members stand forward and publicly contest this charge, the truth of it must be deemed established, and they will henceforth be considered as associating for the purpose of subverting the laws, and overturning the constitution of their country.

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tions of climate, manners, situation and extent of country. It has ever been allowed that these considerations should be maturely weighed by all who attempt the formation of any system of government; in the accomplishment of so difficult a task experience should be called in aid of application, and excellence be sought for in comparison; since it has always been supposed that by comparing different forms of government, and the different motives which superinduced their establishment, the wisdom requisite for rejecting what is bad and retaining what is good can alone be acquired. But it was reserved for the present age, to behold a Man, destitute of every endowment to qualify him for so arduous an enterprize, arrogantly start up, and assume the extraordinary privilege of dictating to nations, prescribing to the different kingdoms of the earth, the same Code of Laws, and the same form of government. Posterity will naturally enquire—nor would the enquiry misbecome the *people of England*—*who* and *what* was this man that arrogated to himself the presumptuous right of rejecting the united wisdom of ages, and supposed himself born to enlighten mankind? How great will be their surprize, when informed that he was not only an obscure but *contemptible* individual, who had collected his ideas of *liberty* from the inferior department of an *Excise-office*; his principles of *patriotism* from a *rebel-congress*, and his opinions of *royalty* from a *Republican Senate*. Yes, my countrymen, you would do well to investigate the character of this incendiary, who, while he insolently arraigns the conduct of his *SUPERIORS*, strives to defraud you of your birthright, by deluding you into the resignation of a certain good for a precarious advantage: from the tenor of his past life you will be enabled to form some probable conjectures with
respect

respect to his present conduct, and his future designs.

Thomas Pain (alias Paine) is the son of a Stay-maker, who formerly resided at Thetford in the County of Norfolk. Being destined to follow the trade of his father, he was sent to the Free-school at Thetford, where he learned to read, write and cast accompts, and at the age of thirteen having acquired as much learning as was deemed requisite for a Stay-maker, he left school, and continued to work with his father and a relation in the same way of business, till he had completed his twentieth year, when he repaired to London, and from thence to Dover, where, in 1758, he was hired, as a journeyman, by a Stay-maker, of the name of Grace. Having obtained ten pounds from his master, under pretence, it is said, of marrying his sister, he went to Sandwich to work for *himself*. It must be observed, Thomas neither married the lady nor repaid the loan.

At Sandwich the profits of his trade proving insufficient to maintain him, he occasionally exercised the occupation of an independent preacher; and, in the view to *better* his circumstances, he married, in 1759, Mary Lambert, a servant to a woollen draper in the town. Hoping, probably, to extend his business by commencing housekeeper, he procured credit for furniture, of a Mr. Rutter, a broker at Sandwich; but all schemes failing and having, from his ill usage of his wife, who is represented as a deserving young woman, become an object of general detestation to the inhabitants, he embarked on board a vessel, one *Sunday*, and sailing to Margate, there sold by auction the furniture he had obtained on credit from the broker at Sandwich. Had the law, in this instance, been suffered to take its course, it is possible Thomas

Pain might have been conveyed to America, at the expence of government.

Having procured money by the sale of another man's goods, he hastened to London; but whether his *wife* died on the road, or whether she be still alive, remains yet to be proved. In 1762 the champion of freedom was content to accept, *for a Salary*, the only office which favours of despotism in the English constitution, that of an *Exciseman*; and he followed this avocation, first at Grantham, and then at Alford, till August, 1765, when he was dismissed with ignominy. Thomas was now reduced to a state of extreme wretchedness; he was destitute of every necessary of life; and was compelled to subsist on charity. The same person who relieved his wants, probably procured his restoration to *office* in July 1766: but though replaced on the list of *Excisemen*, he had no present employment, and therefore engaged himself, as an English Usher, to a school-master in Lemon-street, at a salary of twenty-five pounds a year. His tyrannical disposition having disgusted both master and boys, he left this place, at the expiration of six months, and remained with another school-master at Kensington, three months longer, when he betook himself to the profession of an itinerant preacher, occasionally exhibiting his talents in Moorfields and other places of popular resort.

In March, 1768, he was sent, in the capacity of an *Exciseman*, to Lewes in Sussex, and took lodgings at the house of a Mr. Ollive, a Tobacconist, where he lived till the death of that trader, (in July 1769) when his integrity being suspected, from an attempt to retain some of the effects of the deceased, he was turned out of the house by Mr. Atterfol the executor. In the following year, however, having found means to insinuate himself into the good graces of the

the widow, he procured his recal and opened the shop, in his own name, as a grocer, and, in his own behalf—though still an *Exciseman*—continued to work the tobacco-mills of Ollive.

In 1771, Miss Elizabeth Ollive, unawed by the representations, and regardless of the remonstrances, of her friends, gave her hand to Thomas. This union was marked by two particular circumstances: Thomas, when he obtained the marriage-licence, swore that he was a *Bachelor*, though he had been married before: he also signed his name to the entry on the register which represented him as a *Bachelor*: but whether by these trifling deviations from truth, he subjected himself, in the first instance, to the punishment annexed by the law to the crime of *Perjury*, and, in the second, to the penalties of the marriage-act, by which any person, making a false entry on the register, is declared guilty of *Felony, without benefit of Clergy*, I must leave it to lawyers to determine. Be that as it may, the marriage was productive of no happiness to the bride, and of little profit to the groom: Such was the management, or such the extravagance of *honest* Thomas, that the joint profits of a smuggler and exciseman proved inadequate to save him from the shame and ruin of bankruptcy: in April 1774, having made over the whole of his property to one creditor, by which transaction the rest were defrauded of their due, his effects were advertised for sale, and “a horse tobacco and snuff-mill, with
“all the utensils for cutting of tobacco and grind-
“ding of snuff” being inserted in the catalogue, and public advertisements, his mal practices became notorious and an investigation being made into his conduct, he was again dismissed with ignominy from the office of an exciseman.

Thomas's second wife experienced no better treatment

ment from him than his first had done ; his temper, brutal and ferocious, could neither be softened by meekness nor restrained by submission ; at length, the poor woman, tired out by repeated acts of cruelty and continued beatings, declared, that though she had cohabited with her husband for three years and a half, *their marriage had never been consummated*. Thomas, with philosophic coolness, observed " that he married for prudential reasons, and abstained " for prudential reasons : " in other words, that he married for profit and did not chuse to have a family whom he had not industry to maintain : his conduct, which tended to violate the laws of God and man, occasioned a separation that took place, on the twenty fourth of May, 1774 ; by the articles whereof the wife engaged to pay her husband thirty-five pounds, who on his part resigned all claim to any future property she might acquire. Thomas, however, in the hope, probably, of obtaining more money, attempted to invalidate this agreement ; but, on the fourth of June, new articles of separation were drawn up and signed*.

In September, 1774, having obtained a recommendation to Dr. Franklin, he embarked for America, which had already afforded a refuge to many *worthy* citizens of England. Neglected by the Doctor who, we are told, considered him *as a bad character*, he engaged himself as a shopman to a book-

* By a letter, written in July 1774, from Pain's mother to his wife, it appears that Thomas behaved with great ingratitude to his parents, and that he paid no greater attention to the duties of a son, than to those of a husband. Old Mrs. Pain, in this letter, notices a report, originating with the excise-office, of his having secreted thirty pounds which had been entrusted to his care by the body of excisemen, for the purpose of conducting a petition for an increase of salary !—

feller

seller in Philadelphia; and passed a few months in the honest occupation of retailing penny-pamphlets, and carrying out parcels. He soon, however, enlisted under the banners of rebellion, and in January, 1776, published COMMON-SENSE.

There is an article of the new French constitution, (which Thomas has had the impudence to hold up as a pattern for Englishmen to imitate) by which any Frenchman who serves the enemies of his country is sentenced to lose his life. Now, whatever difference of opinion may be entertained on the *ground of Revolt* in America, no one will deny that the Americans were, at this time, the *enemies of England*, and that Thomas Pain, (with grief I speak it) was an *Englishman*:—and a plain man will be apt to draw this inference that Thomas according to his own principles (putting the laws of England entirely out of the question) deserved to be hanged, as a Traitor.

The *inflammatory* talents of Thomas at length recommended him to the notice of Congress; and, in 1777, he was appointed to the office of *Secretary to the Committee of foreign affairs*. His “insolence of office” exposed him to the resentment of Robert Morris, the American financier, and his infidelity, in betraying his official information, produced a remonstrance from the *Sieur Gerard*, the French envoy, and occasioned on the eighth of January, 1779, his *forced* resignation of a post, which, from so flagrant a breach of trust, he was deemed unworthy to hold.

Thomas was now reduced once more to feel the bitterness of want, and to lament that *inequality*, which allowed one man to enjoy the luxuries, of wealth, while another was involved in the miseries of poverty. After much tedious solicitation for a reward of his *important* and *disinterested* services, he at length obtained from the assembly of Pennsylvania, a
sum

sum of money equivalent to a *Pension* of eighteen pounds sterling. On the restoration of peace, independence, the grand bone of contention, being obtained, it might naturally be supposed that Thomas would remain in America, to enjoy the fruits of those victories which he ascribed, in a great measure, to the wonderful effects of his own *patriotic* productions : But, unfortunately for him, all the principles he had broached were despised by the Congress, and Washington, the dictator of America, rejecting the nonsense of COMMON-SENSE, made the following declaration, as the result of the united wisdom of the new world, which, after mature deliberation, had discovered what an English school-boy at sixteen could have taught them, “ it is obviously impracticable “ in the federal government of these states, to secure all the rights of independent sovereignty to “ each, and yet to provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals, entering into society, *must* “ give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The “ magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on “ situation and circumstance, as on the object to be “ obtained.” As this was too rational for Thomas, who could only hope to thrive in the midst of anarchy, and as he foresaw that a constitution would, notwithstanding his eloquence, be established in America, resembling, as nearly as circumstances would admit, the constitution of England; he took shipping for France, and after a short stay in that country, arrived in London, in September, 1787.

Thomas had brought over with him the *model* of a *bridge*; as it was to be made of iron he went into Yorkshire to superintend the operation of casting, the expence of which he was enabled to defray by an American merchant, whose assignees afterwards arrested Pain, in October, 1789, for six hundred

died and twenty pounds. After a confinement of three weeks he procured bail, and on the payment of four hundred and sixty pounds, which he had at length received from America, and on giving his note for the remainder, he was left penniless to procure a subsistence as he could. He then hastened to France, at that time in a state of confusion, and having probably settled his plan with the incendiaries in that distracted country, he returned to England in November 1790, and, in order to revenge himself for the repeated disgraces he had suffered here, immediately set to work on his curious performance of *The Rights of Man* *.

Such is Thomas Pain!—And let me now ask my countrymen, whether any man who considers honesty as a duty and patriotism as a virtue, would be seen to associate with him? Whether in his feeble, though daring, attempts to overturn our constitution, any man can seriously believe that he has been actuated by just and laudable motives? Whether the bold and arrogant assertions of one who, on important occasions, has displayed so shameful a disregard to truth, are deserving of the smallest credit? Were any

* The facts contained in this sketch of Pain's life, have been taken from the publication of Mr. Oldys, published by Stockdale, in which not only the infamy of that incendiary's conduct, but the gross folly and absurdity of many of his doctrines, are exposed with much good sense, and considerable acuteness.

The Monthly Reviewers, whose opinions deserve all the respect which *learning* and *abilities* are entitled to, have said—(vol. 9, p. 141, of the New Series)—“*We place no confidence in an immoral man, who defends the cause of Liberty.*”—Immorality, according to Johnson's definition of the term, means *dishonesty*; *want of virtue*; I conceive, therefore, that the Reviewers, must either avow their disbelief of the facts advanced by Pain's biographer (which facts appear to me to be established beyond the reach of confutation) or declare Thomas to be unworthy of confidence,

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person

person to propose to me to pull down a good, solid and well-constructed mansion, adapted to every purpose of convenient and useful accommodation, assuring me that the old materials would not only suffice to erect a more spacious, a more beautiful and a more durable structure, but would put a considerable sum of money into my pocket, besides, should I not naturally enquire into the character of this man before I assented to such an extraordinary proposal; and if I found him either a fool or a rogue should I not be mad to follow his advice? *—"Put no trust," says Rousseau—"in those cosmopolites, who in their writings seek for duties at a distance, while they neglect to perform those which are their immediate concern. A philosopher of this kind loves the Tartars, by way of excuse for hating his neighbours."

That Thomas has ever been actuated by the most implacable hatred and enmity, not merely to the king and government, but to the *People* of Great Britain, the following quotations from his early publications most unequivocally prove.

"Men of passive tempers," he says to the Americans, "look somewhat lightly over the offences of Britain, still hoping for the best, and are apt to call out, Come, come, we shall be friends again for all this. But let us examine the passions and feelings of mankind; bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchstone of nature, and then tell me whether you can hereafter love, honour, and faithfully serve the power that hath carried fire and sword

† Thomas himself has said—"Politics and *self-interest* have been so uniformly connected, that the world, from being so often deceived, has a *right to be suspicious of public characters.*" *Rights of Man*, Second Part, p. 92, note.

"into

“ into your land*.”—To talk of friendship with those in whom our reason forbids us to have faith, and our affections wounded through a thousand pores instruct us to *detest*, is madness and folly :—“ The last cord is now broken, the *people of England* are presenting addresses against us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive; she would cease to be nature if she did. As well can the lover forgive the ravisher of his mistress, as the continent of America forgive the *murderers of Britain*. The Almighty hath implanted in us these unextinguishable feelings for good and wise purposes †.” Nor were these either temporary feelings excited by a recent sense of injury, or mere suggestions calculated to promote the declaration of independency, but the real workings of the man’s mind, for the same rooted hatred to England—where he had experienced so many indignities, and committed so many enormities—appears in his “ Letter to the Abbé Raynal,” written after an interval of three years, and after the independence of America had been declared; and has been lately repeated, avowed, and renewed by ostentatious republications in the very midst of us; nay it is, if possible, carried farther ‡. In his letter to Raynal, the inveterate and eternal hatred of this miscreant is justified upon the detestable qualities of the English people in general; and he very seriously invites all the world to unite with him in hate, and to join together to machinate the destruction of this odious nation. “ If”—says he—“ we take a view of the part Britain has acted, we shall find every thing which ought to make a

* Common Sense; p. 15 of the *sixpenny* edition.

† Idem. p. 21.

‡ Observations on the Rights of Man, by Sir Brooke Boothby, p. 102.

“ nation blóth ; the most vulgar abuse accompanied
 “ by that species of haughtiness which distinguishes
 “ a mob from a gentleman.” (Thomas’s definition
 of a *gentleman* would be truly curious) “ It was equal-
 “ ly from her manners as from her injustice that she
 “ lost her colonies *.” To the abbé’s admiration of
 England’s magnanimity in refusing the proffered me-
 diation of Spain, in 1779, he says—“ The rejection
 “ was not prompted by her fortitude but her vanity.
 “ Why did not the abbé rather dwell with pleasure
 “ on that greatness of character, that superiority of
 “ heart, which has marked the conduct of France
 “ in her conquests.” (Thomas, in his rage, forgot
 that France was at ~~this~~ time afflicted with “ The evil
 “ of Monarchy,” as he calls it, and that not of the
 best kind ; but the world will not forget that “ that
 “ greatness of character, that superiority of heart,”
 which he *then* so highly commended, was displayed
 by that very monarch whom he *now* contributes to
 persecute with all the malignant virulence of an illi-
 beral soul, exulting in the misfortunes of its superiors !)
 “ The confederates unite in a rival eminence in the
 “ treatment of their enemies. Spain, in her con-
 “ quest of Minorca and the Bahama Islands, con-
 “ firms this remark. America has been invariable
 “ in her lenity from the beginning of the war. It is
 “ England, only, who has been insolent and cruel †.
 “ A mind habituated to meanness and injustice com-
 “ mits them without reflection. For on what other
 “ ground than this can we account for the declara-
 “ tion of war against the Dutch ‡ ? When once the
 “ mind loses the sense of its own dignity, it loses
 “ likewise the ability of judging it in another ; and
 “ the American war has thrown Britain into such a

* Letter to the Abbé Raynal, p. 10. † Pages 62, 63. ‡ P. 69.

“ variety

“ variety of absurd situations, that arguing from
 “ herself, she sees not in what conduct national digni-
 “ ty consists in other countries. From Holland she
 “ expected duplicity and submission, and this mis-
 “ take arose from having acted in a number of in-
 “ stances, during the present war, the same charac-
 “ ter herself.”—“ To be allied to or connected with
 “ Britain seems to be an unsafe and *impolitic* situation.
 “ Holland and America are instances of the *reality* of
 “ this remark. Make these countries the allies of France
 “ and Spain, and Britain will court them with civi-
 “ lity and treat them with respect; make them her
 “ own allies, and she will insult and plunder them.
 “ In the first case she feels some apprehension of of-
 “ fending them because they *have* support at hand;
 “ in the latter these apprehensions do not exist*.—
 “ A total reformation is wanted in England—she
 “ wants an expanded mind †.—She has laboured to
 “ be wretched, and studied to be hated. France is
 “ as able to be superior to England in the extent of
 “ her navy as she is in the extent of her revenues and
 “ population, and England may lament the day when
 “ by her insolence and injustice she provoked in
 “ France a maritime disposition”—and then follows
 a detailed plan for *the annihilation of the British navy*.
 —“ To conclude, if it may be said, that Britain has
 “ numerous enemies, it likewise proves she has given
 “ numerous offences. Insolence is sure to provoke
 “ hatred in a nation or an individual.” (Thomas
 Paine, then, has no objection to provoking hatred)
 “ The want of manners in the British court, even in
 “ its birth-days and new year’s odes, *are* calculated
 “ to insatuate the vulgar, and disgust the man of re-

* Letter to the Abbé Raynal, p. 71.

† P. 74.

“ fine-

“ finement*; and her former overbearing rudeness
 “ and insufferable injustice on the seas have made
 “ every commercial nation her foe. Her fleets were
 “ employed as engines of prey, and acted on the
 “ surface of the deep the character which the shark
 “ does under it.”—And he finally advises the powers
 at a general peace to allow her only a limited number of ships.

From this series of declarations of enmity and abhorrence, continued through a period of many years, and now confirmed by a new avowal, no doubt can, surely, remain in any man's mind of the determined evil disposition of Thomas Paine respecting the British nation; nor consequently of the malevolent spirit by which he must be actuated in all his voluntary proceedings towards us. After all his plans for her destruction, and predictions of her fall, he sees her rise superior, in her relative situation as well as her internal prosperity, to what she was before. Like the Devil in Paradise, he turns aside with envy at the sight, and projects the destruction of this happiness, not only in the same spirit, but by the very means employed by Satan himself†—

* The *refinement* of Thomas Paine is like the *sobriety* of Lord G——y, the *patriotism* of Lord S——, and the *piety* of Parson H——. This insolent remark has extorted from the moderate pen of Sir B. Boothby, the following observations: “This writer (Paine) has the natural eloquence of a night-cellar. He writes in defiance of grammar, as if syntax were an aristocratical invention; and with a disregard of decency worthy of his politics. There is a sort of monkey-like impudence, which is so gross, that the malice of it is lost in the buffoonery; of this kind, is his affectation of refined disgust at the vulgarity of the English court, in a writer whose merit, if he has any, consists in his vulgarity.”
 p. 106. † Idem, p. 107.

—I will

—I will excite their minds
 With more desire to know, and to reject
 Envious commands, invented with design
 To keep *them* low, whom knowledge might exalt
 Equal with Gods : aspiring to be such
 THEY TASTE AND DIE.

Paradise Lost. Book 4

I mean not to tire you by a recapitulation of all the abstract propositions contained in the “Rights of Man,” a work marked by such gross folly and absurdity, that, but for the uncommon pains which, for the most diabolical purposes, have been taken to promote its circulation, must, long since, have been consigned to eternal oblivion. Of such a work it will suffice to notice the general tendency and leading principles. Its avowed object is the promotion of *Liberty* and *Equality*, and the means proposed for obtaining that object, the destruction of all existing establishments, moral, religious, and political. At a proposition thus monstrous Common Sense revolts, and humanity shudders.

In order to uphold this system of destruction, many bold and preposterous fictions are advanced, of which the following constitute the substance*.

That the living cannot be bound by laws made by the dead.—That all men being perfectly equal, every man has an equal right in every thing.—That every man in society retains the right of doing everything that he is able to do; and acquires the right to call upon the general force to assist him in doing every thing that he is not able to do. But let us examine some few of the propositions by which these affirmations are supported.

* The critics, in reviewing Sir Brooke Boothby's pamphlet, have denied that these three propositions are affirmed by Pain in the sense affixed to them by Sir Brooke; but if the propositions that follow do not justify this explanation of them, to me, I confess, Pain is unintelligible.

“ Every

“ *Every age and generation* ”—says Thomas—“ *must be as free to act for itself in all cases, as the generation which preceded it.* ”—If you want an argument to maintain this proposition, you must not look for it in “ *Rights of Man.* ” Affirmation requires nothing but assurance; proof demands something more. But no proof, in this instance, could possibly be adduced, since the proposition is only meant to affirm that the present generation is not bound by any laws which were enacted previous to its existence. The laws against *treason* were enacted long before the existence of Thomas Paine; according, therefore, to his own *disinterested* principle, they cannot extend to him. He spoke *feelingly* when he observed, that “ *When we see age going to the work-house and youth to the gallows, something must be wrong in the system of government.* ” applying the “ *argument to the man,* ” a mode of application of which he himself is particularly fond, we may conjecture that when he wrote this paragraph; he had the *Excise-Laws* and the *Marriage-Act* in his eye.

But, with regard to his propositions; if *age* imply, as, if it has any signification, it must imply, a certain given period, as fifty or an hundred years, the doctrine is monstrous and arbitrary. Every man who comes into the world, soon after the given period at which the age acts for itself, endures a bondage, from which his more lucky seniors are exempt; and supposing the period fifty years, if he die at forty-nine, he has passed his life in this bondage, because nature has not permitted him to see the propitious year of the renovation of freedom.—When, then, let me ask, does this right to act for one’s self accrue?—I am afterwards told, in every generation. But, in a society of no great extent, every passing hour sees one generation

ration vanish and another arise. Is it, then, the case that on my arrival at the age of discretion, which, in such a society, must happen to some man at every hour of the day, I have a right to reject those laws, to the framing of which, though *my father* may, *I* never have, consented? Or, “as man has no power after his death,” does every decree die away as fate takes off, one by one, the senate by which it was enacted?

But, that we may not mistake the meaning of the former proposition, he proceeds to observe—“*When man ceases to exist his power ceases with him. He has no longer any authority in directing who shall govern, or how government shall be organized, or how administered.*”

If a man's power cease with his existence, all regulation of property by bequest is an usurpation. If I acquire by my industry a considerable fortune, and have a son and a grandson, the former disposed to extravagance, I am not permitted, according to this system, to prevent my son from leaving my grandson to starve, by transmitting to him only a life interest in my estate: neither am I allowed to bind that son to pay my own debts out of the estate I bequeath him; nor to compel my executor to execute leases, to pay legacies, to do a hundred things, in short, which, by every rule of moral justice, as well as municipal law, I am entitled to do.

Nature, without, indeed, any great respect for the opinions of Thomas, has provided, that the weakness and dependence of childhood, with certain affections which she has, with the same want of politeness, implanted in our bosoms, to wit, filial and parental love, should, among various other causes, uphold the power of man beyond the grave: the laws of man, too, equally culpable, as to Thomas, have ratified the

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laws

laws of nature, and, by various modes, either of limiting the descent of property themselves, or authorizing parents to limit it, have extended the power of man beyond the period of his existence.

But if we admit that a man's power die with him, no man is at this day bound by any moral obligation to pay obedience to any law made before his birth, but may disobey and resist all such laws as far as he is able. Having thus relieved our minds from all moral obligation of obedience to the laws and institutions of our forefathers, the pious author proceeds to establish another fundamental principle of destruction: viz. "*The illuminating and divine principle of the equality of man.*" Not that political equality which distinguishes the freeman from the slave, but absolute and positive equality, received immediately from God, in the "*same manner as if posterity had been continued by creation instead of generation,*" whence, as has justly been observed, it follows as a necessary consequence, that society cannot give nor any man possess any right to appropriate to his own use any part of the common benefits of nature, more than his necessities immediately require, so as to exclude from them any other men, who have all an equal right with himself. In order to reduce this principle to practice, every man ought to resign all he possesses, and put all his property into one common stock-purse, whence it might be distributed in *equal* parts to all the different members of the community: the indolent and the industrious; the lazy and the laborious; the extravagant and the frugal; the bad and the good, would then be placed on one common level, and all the *partialities of Nature*, displayed in her *unjust* distinctions, be effectually remedied. What an admirable plan of *demolition*! But Thomas's plan for re-
building

building the fabric he thus seeks to demolish, is equally worthy of admiration!

1. *Man—he says—did not enter into society to have fewer rights than he had before. Every civil right has for its foundation some natural right pre-existing in the individual, but to the enjoyment of which his individual power is not, in all cases, sufficiently complete. Every civil right is a natural right exchanged.*

If this be true, man does not associate, or enter into society, for the purpose of imposing a restraint on his natural appetites and passions, but in order to facilitate the gratification of those appetites and passions, in other words, that he may “*take the strong arm of society, in addition to his own, whenever his powers for their enjoyment are defective in the individual.*” If this be not moral, it is, at least consistent.

2. *The natural rights which he retains are all those in which the power to execute is as perfect in the individual as the right itself.*

But it has already been shewn that according to the “*divine principle of the equal rights of man,*” no individual can have a right to possess any thing to the exclusion of others; and that every man has a right by his own force, and the assistance of society, if necessary, to resist such exclusion; and the enjoyment of a beautiful female, or any other of the goods of fortune being among these natural rights, in which the power to execute is as perfect as the right itself: it follows that those acts which have hitherto been injuriously distinguished, and unjustly punished, under the names of rape, robbery, burglary, and assassination, are in reality no more than civil rights founded on natural rights pre-existing in the individual. *Rights which the power produced from the aggregate of*

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natural

of natural rights imperfect in the individual, cannot be applied to invade †.

Of such materials is the visionary fabric of this incendiary composed! The absurdity of his principles being proved, whatever systems he may have built on those principles must fall to the ground. Pain pronounced his own condemnation, when he said, "Principles must stand on their own merits, and if they are good, they certainly will ‡."

Had Pain confined himself to a display of his folly alone, silent contempt would have been his portion; but there is an evident malignity of design visible throughout his works, that rouses our utmost indignation.—He talks much about *rights*, but little about *duties*. Whatever we have been accustomed to hold sacred, he vilifies or derides. The fear of God—allegiance to kings—affection for parliaments—duty to magistrates—reverence for the clergy—and respect for nobility—are, with him, *evils*, flowing from the contaminated source of monarchical governments. If these be *evils*, I am proud to say, that every true Englishman not only glories in their existence, but will contribute, with his life and fortune, to promote such efforts as are best calculated to ensure their continuance. The fact is, that, without intending it, Thomas has pronounced the greatest eulogy on monarchical governments, that its firmest advocates could desire;—Establishments which produce *such* effects must secure the support of every man of honour and honesty.

None but a brain the most disordered, or a mind the most depraved, could have engendered the preposterous idea, that, by softening the heart of man, in

† Observations on Paine, by Sir B. B.

‡ Preface to the Second Part of the "Rights of Man."

favour

favour of the relative duties of society, you harden it towards the Creator himself*; it is, in my opinion, by considering those duties and our state of dependence on them, that we attain to that humility of mind, with which reason as well as religion teaches us we ought to approach a power between whom and ourselves the distance is infinite.

The humble spirit of christianity and the moral it inculcates are seldom quoted by authors who contend for those aerial rights which are inconsistent with either, or one might argue, from those neglected writings, *The Scriptures*, that we are not thrown very far out of the line of our duty to God, by doing honour to the king†.

The dissolution of every moral and social tie would be the natural consequence of the principles which this man labours to enforce. "*The world is as new—he tells us—to every child born, as to the first man existing, and his natural right in it is of the same kind.*" But, if every child, that is born has the same right as the first man existing—if his right be the same as if he were *created* instead of *generated*, who shall say he is wrong if he return the blow which the father who has fostered and protected gives him in the hour of correction?—Yet God, nature, and the ties of generation, which are here set at nought, hold such an act in abhorrence.

It is curious to observe with what awkward art Pain proceeds in his attempts to overthrow the government of a country that gave him birth. Aware of the opposition he must necessarily experience, and of the support he must necessarily require, in the course

* Pain calls the evils, above specified, *fear of God, &c. &c.* "*A wilderness of turnpike gates placed between man and his Maker.*"

† "*Fear God!—Honour the king*"—says St. Peter.

of so arduous an enterprize, he seeks to quiet the fears of the wealthy, and to inflame the passions of the poor; to the merchant, he declares himself an advocate for commerce; to the stock-holder he talks of the injustice and impolicy of extinguishing the national debt; to the soldier he proposes an encrease of pay; and to the workman an encrease of wages:—But his malevolence appears in spite of all his efforts to conceal it; and where he professes attachment in one place he displays his hatred in twenty.

That all violent convulsions in a state, where commerce has already attained to such a height as it has done in England, must operate as a check to commerce is manifest: And that the adoption of Pain's principles by a majority of the nation would lead to such convulsions no one can deny. With regard to the national debt, his acknowledgment of the injustice of extinction is counteracted by his affirmation that the funds are a proper object of taxation. Though he professes a regard for the interest of the soldier, yet he only proposes to encrease his pay, twenty-six shillings a year; while his partiality to his former profession—though more nearly allied to despotism than any office in the state—leads him to insist on an addition of *twenty pounds* a year to the salary of an *Exciseman*. He expatiates on the importance of education, but he will only allow *twenty pounds* a year to a school-mistress while his favourite exciseman is to have *seventy* forsooth!

But with respect to the soldiers and workmen some farther observations are necessary. He had seen in what manner the first National Assembly of France had seduced the troops, and ignorant of the difference between the French and English troops, he hoped by the employment of the same means to produce

duce the same effect here. But Pain knew little of the soul of an English soldier—who, in his allegiance to his sovereign and his duty to his country, scorns to be actuated by the paltry consideration of *pay*! *His bosom owns a nobler impulse;—honour: His services claim a nobler reward; the applause of his country.* True to those principles, by which the soldiers of England have been ever distinguished, they will, I am convinced, when called, by the laws of their country, to act, display that steady and determined courage which no dangers can appal;—whether opposed to domestic traitors, or foreign enemies, whether employed in suppressing tumults or repelling invasions.—To suspect their fidelity would be to injure their honour—and the honour of a soldier is sacred.—In England, though every citizen be not a soldier every soldier is a citizen, and a *privileged* citizen too. All military men, who have been in the king's service, are at liberty to use any trade or occupation they are fit for, in any town in the kingdom (except the two universities), notwithstanding any statutes, custom or charter to the contrary*.—In some other cases also, soldiers are placed, by the laws, in a much better condition than any other subjects.

The endeavour to inflame the minds of the workmen is one of the most malignant of Pain's daring attempts; and there is no set of men, whose indignation it ought to excite in a greater degree than that of the very persons whom it is calculated to mislead. After stating that there are several laws in existence for the regulation and limitation of workmen's wages, this dangerous incendiary proceeds thus—*Why not leave them as free to make their own*

* Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. 4, p. 416.

“ *bargains,*

*“ bargains as the law-makers are to let their farms
 “ and houses? Personal labour is all the property they
 “ have. Why is that little and the little freedom they
 “ enjoy to be infringed?”* The assertions implied in
 these questions, are so many palpable and malicious
 fallhoods. A workman is as free to make his own
 bargain as a landholder:—for though the law pre-
 scribes no particular price to a farm, yet if a land-
 lord ask more than is reasonable certain it is nobody
 will give it him, and he must either keep it in his
 own hands, or else content himself with the same
 rent as is paid to his neighbours—in which case cus-
 tom has the same effect as law. If it be a house, in-
 stead of a farm, the case is still stronger, for he must
 either let it at the usual price, or submit to a stand-
 ing expence, and an encreasing loss.—Labour is not
 property, but the means of acquiring property. The
 labour of a workman *is not infringed*; they enjoy as
 much freedom as any other description of subjects;
 and that freedom is *not infringed*.—But there is no
 kind of analogy between the two cases.—For whe-
 ther a landholder let his farm to another or till it
 himself it is of no consequence to the community.
 The land is sure to be cultivated and the produce put
 in circulation: But if workmen refuse to work they not
 only suffer themselves but the public suffer too. Hence
 the necessity of preventing combinations for raising the
 price of workmanship, and regulations for that purpose
 have been adopted in every well-regulated government,
 both ancient and modern. But so far from operating as
 an infringement on their liberty, the workmen them-
 selves feel the good effects of those laws as much as
 any other subjects: Admit, for a moment, that no
 such laws existed, and that every workman *was free
 to make his own bargain*: What would be the conse-
 quence? The journeyman shoemaker, would say “ I
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will have a guinea for making a pair of shoes ;" the taylor, " I will have two guineas for making a coat, a guinea for a waistcoat, and the same for breeches ;" the stocking-weaver would demand half a guinea for weaving a pair of stockings ; at the linen-manufactories the wages would be encreased in proportion, the journeyman butcher would expect a similar augmentation of pay ; and the brewer would not be contented with less.—So that every article of dress or consumption would be raised to such a price, that the shoemaker would find his guinea go no farther than his two or three shillings go now ; and no workman would be one farthing richer.—And all this Pain must have been aware of—unless we suppose him a downright Idiot—but so that he could excite a spirit of discontent and sedition, he cared not whom he deceived, or whom he exposed ; if his scheme succeeded he would profit by the plunder ; if it failed he would leave those whom he had misled to abide the consequence of their folly.—The will, in such cases, must be taken for the deed, and the *workmen* have to thank him for projecting their ruin.

The same malevolence, the same anxiety to inflame, and the same false statements are observable in some other observations of this *liberty-boy*. He states (p. 101.) that—" Before the coming of the Hanoverians." (*as if the taxes had been imported from Hanover*) " The taxes were divided in nearly equal proportions between the land and articles of consumption, the land bearing rather the largest share : but since that æra, nearly thirteen millions annually of new taxes have been thrown upon consumption." This statement is exaggerated, but admitting it to be just, what does it prove ? It proves what must afford the most heartfelt satisfaction to every

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friend

friend of this country; viz—that the riches of the nation have, during that period, so much encreased, as greatly to exceed the landed property; and that it was, therefore, necessary to lay the encreased taxes upon the encreased riches, when the land, which is a fixed property, can only support a fixed and certain charge.—The only subject for enquiry, here, is, whether those taxes are unjustly laid? Thomas maintains that they are, and, with his usual candour, adduces this one fact in proof of his assertion.—“Several of the most heavy and productive taxes.”—he says, though he attempts to produce but *one* example—“are so contrived as to give an exemption to this pillar (the House of Lords), thus standing in its own defence. *The tax upon beer brewed for sale does not affect the aristocracy, who brew their own beer free of this duty.*—This wicked incendiary, no doubt, exulted in the strength of his own ingenuity when he had finished this sentence, which is equally marked by falshood and malevolence. He knew that nothing was more likely to inflame the common people, than to be told that the Lords had made a law, by which they could drink their beer a half-penny a pot cheaper than them; and he therefore resolved at all events to hazard the assertion. But the fact is that the right of brewing beer duty free, is not only not confined to the House of Lords, but is right possessed and exercised by every house-keeper in England, out of London; and in London, it is a notorious, that none of the nobility brew their own beer: What is drunk by their servants, or by their tradesmen, and labourers, and workmen of all kinds, who are fed with their money, pay the very same duties which are paid by the people in general; and, in the country, the *poorest house-keepers*, brew their little cask of ale against Christmas, or a christening,

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as free from duty as any lord in the land. In his statement too of the gross produce of this tax, he commits a voluntary error, for having been himself an exciseman, he must know that a very considerable abatement is to be made for drawbacks and allowances; but it was his object to swell the amount as offensively as possible, and truth could not be expected from a man who had sworn he was a *bachelor* after he had been married.

The facts regarding his statement of the taxes, as generally applied, are, indeed, to a surprizing degree, the contrary of what is here so wickedly suggested. Where the taxes are unequal, the inequality, as it ought to do, presses upon the higher ranks. The house-tax, the window-tax, the servants-tax, the coach-tax, the duties on wine, the tax on post-horses, and many others, fall almost exclusively upon the rich; and the greater proportion of the taxes upon all objects of immediate consumption is, directly or indirectly, ultimately paid by them.

The proposal which our dear Thomas—says the excellent author whom I have so frequently had occasion to quote—has reserved for us, as his last best gift, is to render the government insolvent for the purpose of taking it into our own hands, and he shews us, from the example of France, how easily this may be accomplished. “If any credit is given”—he says—“it is to the disposition of the people to pay the tax, and not to the government which lays it on; when this disposition expires, what is supposed to be the credit of the government expires with it. The instance of France, under the former government, shews that it is impossible to compel the payment of taxes by force, when a whole nation is determined to stand upon its ground.” That there is no compelling a *whole* nation is clear

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because

because the part that must be employed to compel the rest is included in the whole ; but it is also clear ; that where the payment of taxes cannot be compelled, contrary to the general disposition of the people, there will be no taxes at all, for a disposition in the people to pay taxes never can exist any where. If that which never existed can be said to expire, the disposition to pay taxes has expired in France, because the power to compel the payment of them has expired; and not only the credit of the government but THE CREDIT OF THE NATION has expired also. Ruin and bankruptcy have been and must ever be the consequence. to ruin and bankruptcy this man calmly invites us. The wretch who, with false signals, directs the vessel on shore that he may plunder the wreck, has at least the plea of interest for his wickedness, but to love unprofitable mischief, to promote destruction for the mere pleasure of contemplating the sufferings of men, is a depravity for which there is no natural source in the human mind ; a wish to see millions reduced at once to all the horrors of beggary and despair, that a bankruptcy in the English funds must occasion, should seem only to belong to what we are taught to believe of the Devil himself †.

After noticing two other passages, I shall close my strictures on that compound of wickedness and folly yclept "Rights of Man." Page 129, we are told that every person in England, male and female, pays from their birth, two pounds eleven shillings and sixpence a year in taxes. But how is this curious calculation made?—He takes care to conceal the operation that his readers of the poorer class may only have before their eyes the immediate object of the taxes,

† Sir Brooke Boothby.

which

which he tells them, (a *most malicious falsehood*, by the bye.) amount to one fourth of their yearly earnings. It is impossible however to mistake the mode of calculation he has chosen to adopt; viz. by taking the whole amount of the taxes, and dividing the sum *equally*, between every individual in the kingdom, rich and poor. For example; estimating the number of inhabitants at seven millions, and admitting that each person paid two pounds eleven shillings, and sixpence, the amount of their united contributions, would be eighteen millions and twenty five thousand pounds. I mean not this as an exact calculation of the number of inhabitants or the produce of the taxes; but I only make it to shew the mode of calculation adopted by Pain, who meant to deceive the poor by inducing them to believe that each man, woman and child paid in taxes two pounds eleven shillings and sixpence a year, in which case the Peasant would pay as much as the Peer. But we have already shown that many of the taxes fall, almost exclusively, on the rich; and that the far greater proportion of the rest is ultimately paid by that description of persons.

That his meaning may not be mistaken, he makes this false calculation the basis of an argument which tends to prove that, the poor are entitled, at a certain age, to a stipulated annuity—and, that such support “Is not of the nature of a *charity*, but of a *right*.” In this part he is perfectly explicit, for he says, that every poor person pays two pounds eleven shillings and sixpence a year in taxes, “consequently, at the end of fifty years, he has paid one hundred and twenty-eight pounds fifteen shillings, and at sixty, one hundred and fifty-four pounds ten shillings.” But all this he knew at the time to be *false*. Such a malicious attempt to inflame the poor, an attempt which

which leads to the destruction of *gratitude* on the one hand, and of *benevolence* on the other, is perfectly consistent with the rest of his endeavours. But the poor man—like the soldier and the workman—will now perceive that Pain is his greatest enemy: for by confining the claims of the poor to their *right* to enforce them, he saps the very foundation of charity. If I say to another man “I demand ten pounds of you as *my right*,” the reply is naturally “*Prove your right*.” If I failed in my proof, I should go with a very ill grace to ask that as a *favour* which I had before claimed as a *right*; and certain it is, that the person on whom I had made the former claim, would be little disposed to grant my present request. Now, as he founds the claims of the poor to relief on the money they have *not* paid, such claims must necessarily fall to the ground. But fortunately for them, the poor have stronger claims; they have claims on the *humanity* of their fellow creatures, claims resulting from those social and moral ties which the principles of this incendiary tends to dissolve; and sanctioned and confirmed by those laws and establishments which his mischievous efforts are calculated to subvert and overthrow. It is certainly the duty of every society to maintain those who are unable to work, and to provide labour for those who can.

With regard to the taxes falling heaviest on the poor, as Pain falsely asserts, it will not be denied that the chief articles of consumption with them are meat, cheese, and bread, none of which pay any tax: and the minister has very properly lowered the duty on tea, of which a great quantity is consumed by the poor, and which may now be bought at a very reasonable price.

The following paragraph completes the picture of
malevolence

malevolence: "*The horrid scene that is now acting by the English government in the East Indies,*" (says Pain, p. 166) "*fit only to be told of Goths and Vandals, who, destitute of principle, robbed and tortured the world they were incapable of enjoying.*" Thus this philanthropist—this champion of freedom—this foe to despotism—this hater of monarchs and monarchy—has the impudence to revile the English for punishing the perfidy, and checking the destructive ambition of one of the most treacherous, the most cruel, the most oppressive, and the most arbitrary tyrants that ever disgraced a throne: a sovereign, who, in violation of solemn treaties, and of the rights of humanity, had thrown some hundreds of English soldiers into prison, and had murdered numbers of them. But Tippoo Sultaun and Tom Pain seem to have a certain congeniality of soul and sentiment; that renders them fit companions for each other, and I have not a doubt but they would willingly cement their union with the blood of the English!

I have now exhibited my principal charges against this culprit, and it remains with the people of England to pass sentence. His crime, I confess, to me appears of infinite magnitude: It is no less than an attempt to excite a mutiny of our troops; an insurrection of our workmen; and a tumult among the poor; to dethrone our sovereign, and disinherit his family; to subvert our laws, and overturn our constitution. That any man could be found to associate with a wretch of this description excites my astonishment; but that an Englishman could be found publicly to plead his cause, makes me blush for my country.

The fashionable cry of the discontented and seditious has, of late, been "*Liberty and Equality*;" the sound of the former is so grateful to the ear of an Englishman,

Englishman, that it gives an indirect kind of sanction to any thing that accompanies it. Hence the expression has passed current with many *real* friends of freedom, who, captivated with their favourite word, have neglected to examine its spurious companion. But the fact is, that liberty and equality, so far from being friends, cannot possibly subsist together:—Where liberty reigns equality is a stranger, and where equality prevails liberty can never be found. In the republic of Sparta, the only state in which the establishment of a perfect equality was ever attempted, whence money, commerce, and the arts were expelled to prevent the acquisition of wealth, where the land was equally divided, where every man was *obliged* to perform stated services, to dine at the *same* table, and eat the *same* food, though the citizens were equal among themselves, yet the most abominable of all inequalities subsisted in the encouragement of *slaves*, by whom the citizens were served, and over whom those champions of equality exerted the most cruel *tyranny* 23. When the poor man is told he shall be as rich as his neighbour, his cheek glows with exultation, and he thinks himself about to become the happiest of mortals; but what will he say when assured that an equal distribution of wealth, among the members of the community, so far from contributing to their happiness, would render them all miserable; and so far from relieving them from the necessity of working, would greatly encrease the labour of the most laborious? I cannot illustrate this position better than by quoting the following dia-

3 Lysurgus, by whom this curious system of equality was established, ordered the girls of Sparta to perform the same exercises as the boys, and, on certain solemn festivals, to dance naked like them, and at the same place.

logue,

logue, from a book published about twenty years ago, and which many of my readers may not have perused. The dialogue is held between Mr. Wildgoose and Jeremiah Tugwell, a shoemaker.

"How hard it is"—said Jerry—"that some people should be forced to toil like slaves, while others live in ease and plenty, and the fat of the land."

"Ah Jerry"—says Wildgoose—"true happiness does not consist in meat and drink, but in peace and joy in the Holy Ghost; and I am convinced there is not that difference in the real enjoyments of men which you imagine. You only see the outside of the wealthier part of mankind, and know nothing of the care and anxiety they suffer, which is frequently more insupportable than any bodily labour which poor people undergo."

"Odsbobs,"—says Tugwell—"If I had but as good a dinner every day as I had yesterday at the justice's, I would not value of a straw all the care and anxiety in the world."

"Well,"—replies Wildgoose—"but these distinctions amongst mankind are absolutely necessary; and, whilst men have the liberty of doing as they please, it cannot be otherwise. I suppose you would have every body provided for alike; so that no one should be either very rich or very poor."

"Why,"—says Jerry—"methinks it is very hard, that one man should have five or six hundred pounds a year, when another mayhap has not fifty."

"Well, then,"—replies Wildgoose—"we will suppose that you and I, Jerry, and all the people of our parish, and in the next parish, and in the next market town, and so on, had each a hundred pounds a year, and no more."—"Aye, that I should like now well enough."—"Well, then,

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"but

“ but where should I get my shoes made?”—says Mr. Wildgoose.—“ Truth, master, you must even make them yourself, for I should work for nobody but myself and our Dorothy.” “ Well,” says Wildgoose, “ and where would you buy your leather?” “ Why, of Mr. Jones, the currier, at Evesham.” “ Where would you get your awls, hammers, and cutting-knives?” “ Why, from Birmingham.” “ Very well; and where would you get your cloaths made?” “ Oh! Isaac, our taylor, should work for me, he is a very honest fellow.”

“ Ah! Jerry”—says Mr. Wildgoose—“ thou dost not consider that all these people would be fully employed in working for themselves; so that for all thy hundred pounds a year, thou must not only make thy own cloaths, but raise thy own corn, build thy own house, make thy own chairs and tables, thy own linen, stockings, shoes, and buckles; and, in short, either every man must work ten times harder than the poorest man now does, or, if he were idle or extravagant, those that were more frugal and industrious, would again grow rich, and the others poor; which shows the unavoidable necessity of that inequality with which your complaint began †.”

In fact it is madness to say that in this world a state of perfect equality can exist: in a state of nature, superiority of strength, cunning, or agility, must destroy equality as effectually as superior frugality, industry, or genius, in a state of society. Pain, for the establishment of his absurd doctrine of “ The equal Rights of Man,” was obliged to go back as far as the days of *Adam*—here he was safe, for when there was but one man, there could, of course, be no in-

† Spiritual Quixote.

equality of persons; and, with equal consistency, he wisely appeals to *Adam* as authority in matters of government, who, existing alone, could neither govern nor be governed.

Yet even the Scriptures have been perverted to uphold a doctrine which reason disavows and the executive council of France have lately declared* that the "sacred writings breathe the purest democracy, the most perfect equality"—Pain, indeed, had said almost the same thing in his *Common-Sense* †. But how is this to be reconciled with the promise of the Lord to Rebecca "that two nations should spring from her womb, one of which should serve the other," or to the sale of the rights of primogeniture under the divine sanction? Or to the prophetic blessings of the Patriarchs;—"Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee." Or to the difference made between the descendants of Ham, &c.

The Apostles, too, teach a different doctrine. *Saint Peter* says "Submit yourselves to every ordinance

* In a Letter to the Pope.

† From various passages in "*Rights of Man*," and from other circumstances, strong conjectures may be formed that Pain has long been in the pay of the Jacobine party in France; under whose influence and direction he appears to me to have acted. The measures pursued by the National Convention, since he has taken his seat there, confirm me in this opinion. The system which they now propose, is the same which he has supported; and the hostile measures adopted for engaging England in a war, seem to be the consequence of his advice. His inveterate enmity to this country has been openly displayed since his return to France; and in the *written speech* he delivered to the Convention, on the subject of the king's trial, he grossly insulted every Englishman, in the person of his sovereign, whom the miscreant dared to abuse in the most virulent manner. But the day of retribution, we trust, is not far off.

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“ of man for the Lord's sake—Whether it be to the
 “ KING as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them
 “ that are sent by him. Honour all men—love the
 “ brotherhood—fear God—honour the King—ser-
 “ vants be subject to your masters:”—*Saint Paul*
 says “ Let every soul be subject to the higher powers.
 “ They that resist shall receive to themselves dam-
 “ nation—render therefore to all their dues—tribute
 “ to whom tribute is due—custom to whom custom
 “ —honour to whom honour.”—Here is nothing of
 “ The equal Rights of Man,” of the “ purest de-
 “ mocracy, the most perfect equality;” but these
 writers were only inspired by God, whereas Thomas
 and his Jacobines seem to have been inspired by
 a power, that has much greater influence in France,
 —The DEVIL.

The only equality that man can know upon earth,
 is that political equality which forms the leading fea-
 ture in our own glorious constitution; where the
 laws are equally binding on all; whether exerted for
 the purpose of protection or of punishment they ex-
 tend alike to the rich and the poor; in England,
 thank Heaven, the power to oppress is unknown;
 the sovereign himself has no right to enter the cot-
 tage of the peasant, without the *permission* of its
 owner. Under the influence of such laws, freedom
 is secure, and property safe; no invidious exclusions,
 no monopoly of rank or power is authorized; the
 road to wealth and honours is open to every man; the
 means of elevation are infinite: industry, applica-
 tion, genius, either separate or combined, can raise
 men from the lowest to the highest stations of life.

The end and object of all human governments,
 are the welfare and happiness of the people; and in
 no government, either of ancient or modern times,
 have these been so much consulted, or so successfully
 promoted,

promoted, as in that of Britain. In no country of Europe is the *soldier* so well paid, or possessed of so many privileges; in no country of Europe are the wages of the *workman* so high; in no country of Europe are the *poor* so amply provided for, and, in no country of Europe are the people, less burthened with taxes! In England, commerce, fostered by freedom, daily extends her empire, opening new sources of industry, and thereby facilitating the acquisition of splendid fortunes.

To confirm these blessings, and even to extend them, we have only to remain true to those principles, and firm to that conduct to which we are indebted for their existence. OBEDIENCE TO THE LAWS IS THE SAFEGUARD OF LIBERTY. "A people who have
 " any morals,"—says Rousseau—"and, consequent-
 " ly, respect the laws, cannot be too much upon
 " their guard against the specious and dogmatical
 " maxims of philosophers, which, by teaching them
 " to despise the laws and customs of their country,
 " lead to a general and inevitable corruption of
 " manners."

I would willingly have avoided any allusion to the situation of a neighbouring country, had the nature of my subject permitted me; but when the constitution of France is held up to us as an object to admire, and an example to pursue, I am forcibly led to reprobate the preposterous idea, of exchanging good for evil, wealth for poverty, order for anarchy, virtue for vice, and happiness for misery. But waving all conclusions to be drawn from the present dreadful situation of France, without government and without laws, what were all the promised advantages of their boasted declaration of rights? They were these—*That all men should be equally bound by the laws—that every man should have the power of doing every thing which*

which the law does not prohibit—that no man should be imprisoned or otherwise molested but as the law prescribes—religious toleration—liberty of the press—that taxes should be equally laid—and laid by the representatives of the people—that the agents or ministers of the government should be amenable to public impeachment—the inviolability of private property. Admitting these rights to be fully enjoyed by the French, is there any one of them that has not been long, long ago, secured to Englishmen? Most certainly not. What then is the object proposed by the change? The introduction of ruin, that needy rogues may profit by the spoils of their country.

But the rights above-mentioned though *declared* are certainly not *enjoyed* by the French—How does their present conduct to their unhappy sovereign square with the declaration, that—“*no man shall be imprisoned or otherwise molested but as the law prescribes?*” That the *liberty of the press* is abolished, appears from the impossibility of procuring at Paris, (I speak from *experience*) any publication, however moderate, that contains sentiments hostile to those of the prevailing faction. The fact is, that notwithstanding the cry of liberty and equality, the most oppressive tyranny—the tyranny of a delegated Banditti—pervades every part of that distracted country.

The effects produced by any system of government constitute the best test of its excellence; and if the people be wretched we may safely conclude that the government cannot be good. What the gross amount of the taxes, in France may be, I am not, at present, competent to say †; but this *I know*, that

† To Pain's statement I pay no kind of attention; his object is to mislead; and the man who stands convicted of the most notorious falsehoods is wholly undeserving of credit.

people

people of landed property are assessed at nearly a third of the net produce of their estates; and if *taxes be equally laid* the amount must be enormous; but I apprehend that the assessment and collection of taxes are conducted with the most shameful partiality; indeed some instances of this kind, within my own knowledge, I could cite, were I not restrained by private considerations. But what more immediately concerns the people of France, and I wish the people of England also to attend to the circumstance, is the enormous rise, which has taken place in the price of all the necessaries of life. Before the Revolution, meat was sold, in Normandy, at four pence and four pence half-penny a pound; whereas it now costs eight pence and nine-pence; and the three-penny loaf is raised to five-pence. Good walking shoes used to sell in France at four livres ten sols or five livres (from three and nine-pence to four and two-pence) whereas they are now sold at Paris—though all the town-duties are suppressed—at seven livres ten sols (six-shillings and three-pence!)—and that by the army contractors, who, of course, can afford to sell them at the lowest price. It is of mighty little consequence to a man who possesses a hundred a year and pays five pounds in taxes, to be told that his taxes shall be lowered to three pounds, if, by the operation which is to produce that change, the price of provisions, &c. will be so raised that what now costs him ten pounds will then cost him eighteen or twenty! Yet this is the mighty advantage enjoyed by the French; and to obtain this we are advised to plunge ourselves into misery and resign all the benefits we derive from equal laws and a free government.

It has been repeatedly said, that the accounts of the enormities committed in France, since the period of the

the revolution, have been grossly exaggerated : Such assertions my suit the purposes of *party*, but they are gross violations of truth. I affirm, on the authority of a person, whose name I forbear to mention because I wish not to expose him to the danger of assassination, but for whose veracity I pledge myself—a person, I say, established at Paris long before the revolution, and who did not leave that metropolis till after the massacre of the tenth of August, that the accounts given in such of our papers as appeared most violent against the French (The *Times*, for instance) were rather *palliated* than *exaggerated*. Indeed, the crimes, both against God and man, perpetrated by the detestable party of the Jacobins, scarcely admit of exaggeration. Nor were the numerous murders committed at Paris during the last summer the effect of sudden provocation or momentary rage—they were deliberately planned, systematically arranged—and executed in cold blood. Regular bands of assassins paraded the streets, forcibly entered the houses of peaceable citizens, and were frequently seen to pursue the unhappy objects of their rage, over the roofs of the houses. The Parisians, indeed, have in all times of public commotion been distinguished for their ferociousness and cruelty ; at the massacre of the Armagnacs, in 1418, the acts of barbarity of which they were guilty almost exceed belief † ; at the massacre of the Hugonots

† On the twelfth of June, the dreadful scene began : the populace frantic with rage, flew to arms, forced open the doors of the prisons, murdered the gaolers and guards, made the prisoners walk out one by one, and massacred them as they passed, Armagnacs, *Burgundians*, criminals, debtors, all were butchered without distinction of rank, age, or sex. Not a prison nor dungeon escaped the active malignity of these sanguinary ruffians. The grand Châtelet made a vigorous resistance ; its wretched inhabitants

gonots in 1372, the greatest destruction and most cruel deeds were performed by the citizens, led by their *minicipal officers*; and the conduct of the inhabitants of the capital from the commencement of the Revolution to the present day shews that their disposition, in this respect, has not degenerated.

Yet these are the men with whom we are urged to associate; whose alliance we are invited to court! At a period when that treacherous country endeavours, by means of her secret emissaries †, to excite an insurrection in England, and by attack-

tants ascended the towers, and attempted to repel the attacks of the mob; for some time they exhibited the strange sight of prisoners sustaining a siege; at length, however, the building having been fired in different parts, they were compelled to surrender. The merciless rabble then forced these miserable victims to precipitate themselves from the tops of the towers into the streets below, on pikes which they held to receive them. In the courtyard of the palace, and in the environs of the gates of Paris, so dreadful was the massacre, that the mob stood "*up to the ankles in human blood!*" When the barbarians had cleared the prisons, they spread over the different parts of the town; not a street but was the scene of numerous murders; whoever wished to get rid of an enemy, a rival, or a creditor, had only to point him out as an *Armagnac*, and he was instantly dispatched. Hist. of France, vol. II. p. 456.

† It is notorious that the agents of the French Jacobins now in London, for the purpose of sowing sedition in this country, are very numerous. They particularly frequent a house of great resort for foreigners in Jermyn-street, where, to avoid suspicion, they pass themselves for *Emigrants*. It is one part of the mission of those miscreants to irritate the minds of the people against the real Emigrants; a virtuous and unfortunate set of men, who, refusing to sacrifice their principles to their interest, and to incur the guilt of Perjury, were robbed of their property, and being banished, like criminals, from their country, were compelled to relinquish their friends, their families, and connections. The former are just objects of indignation, and will not, I trust, escape the vengeance of the law: But the latter have the strongest claims to our protection—*charity* is a *duty* strongly inculcated by the holy author of our religion, and it never can be exercised on more worthy objects. The same spirit that impels an Englishman to resent injuries, prompts him to relieve distress, and to protect the friendless and oppressed.

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ing our allies to provoke us to war, we are advised to shew her an act of favour and condescension, by acknowledging the constitution she has founded on the dissolution of all moral and religious ties. And by whom is this advice given? By the very men, who, on the proposal for a commercial treaty with France in 1787, reprobated the idea of any kind of connection with a people whom they stiled our natural political enemies. Mr. Fox, in his speech of the thirteenth of February, (1787,) exerted his utmost abilities to encourage and confirm that rooted enmity which England had for ages maintained against her treacherous rival: He declared "that he
 " could never be brought to believe that France
 " was sincere when she professed to be the friend of
 " Great Britain:" He remarked, "that notwithstanding the levity of French manners, notwithstanding the constitutional mutability of that people, yet, to the astonishment of all the world, during all their changes of administration, they had, for more than a century, kept to one regular and constant idea, that of *overweening pride* and *natural aggrandisement*: Anxious to grasp at a more than due influence over the other powers of Europe, France had endeavoured by different means to attain her object." He represented the true situation of England to be "that of a great maritime power, looked up to by the other powers of Europe, as that to which the *distressed should fly for assistance*, whenever *France unjustly attacked them* with a view to the attainment of her favourite object." He maintained that a wise minister ought with respect to France to procure an alliance for Great Britain with some maritime power that could assist her whenever France thought it a fit moment to attack her.—He declared, "he had lately
 " heard,

“ heard, and with much true joy, that the probability of our once again recovering our situation with Holland, was encreased—He was sincerely glad of it”—Yet now Mr. Fox tells us “the internal state of Holland is such” (certainly not worse than in the year 1787 when the Dutch were in a state of open rebellion) “that the balance of her alliance may be found in the end much against us *.”

Mr. Grey, in his maiden speech, upheld the same doctrine, and maintained the same principles: he reprobated “the boundless ambition of France—our natural rival, if not our natural foe, and the repeated instances of perfidy she had evinced in the course of her transactions at all periods with Great Britain”—“He doubted much of her assurances of her cordial amity, and her fair professions of reciprocity and regard.” He asked “what had lulled our constitutional jealousy to sleep, and whether it evinced, either policy or prudence in Great Britain to abandon *her old prejudices* and assume a new feeling towards France!”—He was convinced—“That while France was holding out the most liberal professions of amity and sincere regard towards this country, she was intent on the

† Till I read Mr. Fox’s speech on the address—I would not believe that the speech said to be delivered by him at the whig Club was really his.—The promulgation of the sentiments of a public character on great constitutional questions through the medium of *toasts*, has at least the recommendation of novelty; and the season of the year is peculiarly favourable for such a production, which will no doubt make a conspicuous figure among the conundrums and acrolics at the end of the Lady’s Almanack for the year 1793.—Perhaps though Mr. Fox’s constituents may hereafter think it worth their while to enquire, why, in the hour of patriotic conviviality, when the mind naturally expands and truth will out, that gentleman should have *tooled* the dependent freeholders of Hertfordshire, and Northumberland, while he totally overlooked the independent electors of Westminster.”

“pursuit

“pursuit of her grand object *the annihilation of the greatness of Britain in the scale of Europe, the reduction of her power and the ruin of her navigation and marine*” he declared that it had been the uniform aim of France “to diminish British greatness and to render us as much politically insulted as we were insulted in regard to our local situation.”—

On what grounds has this *puny* statesman changed his opinion? why does he now “*exult* in the aggrandisement of that natural rival, whose *invariable aim* has been the *diminution of British greatness*?” If he cannot answer the question himself, the people of England will answer it for him. They have sufficient penetration to distinguish *party rage* from *patriotism*, and open professions of enmity to our natural foes, from secret encouragement of their treacherous designs.

I blush for my country when I see such a veteran politician as Mr. Fox so far forget the principles he has ever avowed, so far depart from the dignified pride and independent spirit of an Englishman, as to advise us to throw ourselves at the feet of a foreign assembly, exhibiting a monstrous compound of wickedness and folly—to supplicate the national convention of France—a wretched band of perjured traitors †,

† I shall, probably, be told by the critics, that *abuse* is not *argument*: but as I am a plain man, and have little of the French *politesse* about me, they must permit me to use my own expressions, and, if I can prove a man a rogue, to call him so. Now let me ask them; is there a member of the National Convention, (Thomas Paine excepted) who has not taken a solemn oath to *maintain the constitution*, as established by the constituent assembly, and to obey the nation, the *law*, and the *king*? And have they not since abolished that constitution, violated that law, and dethroned that king?—They certainly have—I am therefore as much justified in calling them a band of perjured traitors, as I should be in calling a man a highwayman who had been convicted of stealing my purse on the road.

who,

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who, after violating all property, treating with contempt the rights of nations, and destroying every tie that binds man to man, are about to complete the sum of their iniquity by the assassination of their sovereign—A sovereign too, whom the man that urges us to this disgraceful measure, has himself proclaimed “A Lover of Justice, and the Friend of his Country †,”—an eulogy confirmed, in more ample terms, by a noble marquis, who is now pursuing the same line of conduct.

Is Mr. Fox prepared to say, that the French are not, at this instant, a more dangerous foe than they were at any period of the monarchy? That the same principles which applied to the prevention of their aggrandisement in 1787, or at any former period, are not more strongly applicable to their present situation? That the motives on which he grounded the impolicy of a connexion between this country and France, do not now subsist, and in a much greater degree? And, that it is not our interest, as well as our duty, to fulfil the terms of our treaty with Holland, and to check the diffusion of French principles, and the progress of the French arms? On this ground I shall ever be ready to meet him, and, notwithstanding the immense disproportion of talents, I am confident of victory: but my confidence is founded not on vanity but reason.

I am no friend to *national enmities*, but if there ever was a time in which prudence and policy required the encouragement of an *Antigallican spirit* in England, this is surely the period. And I heartily subscribe to the following declaration of a member of parliament, made on another occasion. “My serious opinion and deliberate conviction are, that the nearer

† See Mr. Fox's Speech in February, 1787, quoted above.

the

the two nations are drawn into contact, and the more successfully they are invited to mingle and to blend with one another, in the same proportion the remaining morals, principles and vigour of the national English mind, will be enervated and *corrupted*.”—Rather, therefore, my countrymen, shun all intercourse with a people, who are now, more than ever, our enemies, who revile us in their writings, insult us in their speeches, and seek to sow discontents among us, that we may be disabled from resenting the insult offered to our ally †, and from inflicting the just punishment of their perfidy. That their enmity to us has subsisted since the revolution, is notorious, though great pains have been taken to propagate a contrary opinion. In a work written in the year 1790, by M. Dupont, a member of the first National Assembly, entitled, “Considerations on the politics of France, Spain, and England,” the author desires that the court of France should summon that of England to disarm immediately, and that the *English nation* should be informed that if she refused to comply, the French nation “swore, upon her honour, that she would instantly repair to London, in order to enforce a compliance with her proposals.” The answers, he says, must be prompt, “for either England must begin to disarm in a week, or hostilities must commence in a month.” In a speech of Brissot, (in July 1791) the editor of a factious print, member for Paris, in the last national assembly, and one of the

2 By one of the articles of the French Constitution, it was declared that “All offensive war was unjust.” This article, as well as the rest, the French *swore* to observe; yet, in direct violation of that oath, they are about to *attack* the Dutch, who have, during the whole progress of the revolution, preserved the strictest neutrality. Such wholesale dealers in perjury, never before disgraced humanity.

leading

leading members of the present convention, the following curious paragraph appears—"Is England the power that appears so formidable to our pusillanimous politicians? Overwhelmed with the enormous weight of her debt, which is daily encreasing, the vain parade of her armaments against Russia, and the disastrous war in India, she has every thing to fear for herself;—impossibility of paying off her debt, the loss of her possessions in the East-Indies, her separation from Ireland, and the constant emigrations from Scotland. Though she extend her conquests, and multiply her fleets, still her debt does not diminish: give her, for allies in India, the versatile Nizam; the perjured Mahratta;" (it becomes Brissot to talk of *perjury* truly) the nominal emperor—still the English empire is not secure—it exists but in imagination:—It is impossible, then, that this *dream* of imagination can exist much longer." A hundred other instances might be quoted to prove the *rooted hatred* of the French republicans to the *English nation*; but, I trust, the eyes of the people are sufficiently opened to their perfidy, and their arms prepared for resistance and punishment. The fields of Creçy, Poitiers, and Azincourt, are deeply engraven on the minds of Britons; who will convince these daring freebooters, that they still retain their wonted superiority in arms, as well as morals; in courage, as well as integrity.

It is with heart-felt satisfaction I view the glorious spread of loyalty, so widely diffused over this favoured country. I detest adulation almost as much as I abhor calumny: but praise founded on truth is the tribute of justice: and he who performs, with exemplary virtue, the duties of a husband, a father and a man, is justly entitled to the highest commendation, whether he grace a cottage or a throne.

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Let the people of England remain firm and united, and they have nothing to fear from the attempts of their foreign enemies, or the more insidious machinations of domestic traitors: let them remember that insubordination is destructive of liberty, as obedience to the laws is her forest safe-guard: and let them convince the world that THE VIRMEST FRIENDS TO FREEDOM ARE THE MOST DETERMINED TOES TO LICENTIOUSNESS!

Dec. 18th, 1798.

Miles, William Augustus

A LETTER

TO THE

DUKE OF GRAFTON,

WITH NOTES.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED

A COMPLETE EXCULPATION

OF

M. DE LA FAYETTE,

FROM THE CHARGES INDECENTLY URGED AGAINST HIM BY

Mr. BURKE,

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

On the 17th MARCH, 1794.

DUBLIN;

PRINTED FOR P. WOGAN, OLD BRIDGE, P. BYRNE,
AND W. JONES.

MDCXCIV.

A LETTER

TO THE

DUKE OF GRAFTON.

London, March 20, 1794.

IT is matter of surprise, my Lord, to many, and of offence to all, that your Grace should again provoke the suspended indignation of your country, and renounce that obscurity to which the universal and well-founded contempt of the world had consigned you. To recur to past events, and recall the pitiful measures of an Administration, marked by folly, turpitude, and cowardice, in which the kingdom was dishonoured abroad, and oppressed at home, would be wresting from the historian the painful, but indispensable obligation of recording the foul catalogue, not of crimes dignified by success and justified by necessity, but of innumerable mischiefs bequeathed to your successors, the sad effects of which an interval of twenty years has not been able to efface.

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It is not the melancholy detail of a life nearly consumed in the wretched pursuits of every thing that is mean and disreputable :—It is not your public or private history that is offered to your notice, but a strong and well merited remonstrance against proceedings, which mark the guilt and natural meanness of a character, known only to be reprobated, and which excites scorn or derision wherever it is mentioned. —It is an examination, my Lord, of your pretensions to that patriotism and respect, which your Grace has lately claimed in your legislative capacity ; and with whatever ill-humour this remonstrance may be received, with whatever contempt you may affect to treat its substance or its language, the truths it contains, and the events to which it alludes, will require the full exertion of your philosophy to bear with fortitude, and the whole stock of family effrontery to recollect without blushing.

Surely, my Lord, Junius, who seems to have understood your character, and to have acquired a tolerable knowledge of human nature, must have counted too much on his discernment, when he supposed it possible for a man to be reclaimed, on whom precept and example never had any influence, but when they pointed to that pre-eminence from which good men turn with anger and aversion.

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What a misfortune it is, that your Grace has not availed yourself of the prediction of your adversary, and enabled the prophet to become the historian of your reformation!—The opportunity is lost; and, notwithstanding your present efforts to recover it, the reproach of having read Junius as the Bishops read the Old Testament, cannot be avoided. *They* would verify the prophecies of the Jews, without being warned by their fate, or benefited by the admonitions they received.—We know that the Author who has been quoted is not a favourite with your Grace; but something is due to his generosity, when he asserts, that “*there is hardly a period at which the most irregular character may not be redeemed.*”---Your character, my Lord, offers an exception to a rule, the application of which, as far as it relates to yourself, may be denied, without any injury to your reputation, or offence to your feelings. The passage, however, to which we allude has not been forgotten.—Your Grace, it seems, has held it in faithful remembrance; and, alarmed at the prospect of internal commotions, you would willingly make your peace before the day of retribution arrives;—but the deception is too gross to mislead our judgment;—a succession of impostures too impudent to be forgotten, and too calamitous to be forgiven, have put the people

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on their guard; and they know from experience, that it is not every man who bellows for liberty that is an enemy to despotism. Ever fertile in expedients, you seem anxious to provide against this difficulty, by espousing the cause of benevolence; so that what should be denied on the score of patriotism might be amply made up to you on that of humanity. This, in the language of the turf, was no bad hedge; and if it did not succeed as you wished, we may venture to assert, that it was not owing to any delicacy on the part of your grace.

It is really not meant, my Lord, to question with acrimony, or too much nicety, your claim to any one good quality of the mind or heart, to which any tolerable pretensions can be advanced; and do not attribute it to malevolence, when we express our surprize, that the only two instances in which you have condescended to appeal to our judgment, should be precisely those on which the world has long since decided, in a manner it may not be prudent to repeat, and certainly not very consonant with your late declarations in Parliament.

In referring to past times, we find more than sufficient to question the purity of your motives for the part you have taken; nor is the ground which you have chosen an argument either of your truth or discretion. (The trade and manufactures

factures of this country will always suffer interruption and diminution at the commencement of every war, and this interruption will necessarily produce inconveniencies and distress to those who are immediately concerned in either; but your Grace might have learnt from the same source from whence you derived your information, a consolatory assurance, that the interruption and distress which you deplore, are merely temporary, and that, recovered from the sudden check which commerce always receives on the commencement of hostilities, it soon resumes its former vigour;) but the context would not have answered your purpose; it would have shewn, that a nation reduced almost to bankruptcy, at the close of an iniquitous, and certainly an ill-conducted war, could recover herself by her own exertions;—it would have held out hope and consolation to a people smarting under temporary difficulties, and whose ill humour it is attempted to provoke into acts of violence and sedition. How comes it, my Lord, that with every inducement to support Government which can arise from a sense of honour and of prudence, you should have declared against it?—Surely, your Grace might have held out other prospects than ruin and despondency; while authorized by the indisputable evidence of official documents, you might have taught your
tenants

tenants and your neighbours to look forward to better days,---But this again would not have suited your purpose;---neither would it have corresponded with a temper naturally disposed to abridge the miserable portion of human felicity, which unhappily falls within its power to controul.

In a work lately published, and which is meant to correct wilful misrepresentation, as well as to instruct the ignorant, your Grace will find a full refutation of all your prognostics.

To a vigorous and well-informed mind, the Author* adds great accuracy and precision in argument; and in the late edition of his Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain, your Grace will find, that the value of cargoes exported at the end of the year 1782, from England only, amounted to 12,375,750*l*. and that at the end of 1792, they had increased to 22,679,316*l*.---The shipping cleared outwards at the former period was 761,362 tons;---at the latter, it amounted to 1,561,154. And if the export trade of this country almost doubled itself in the course of ten years; if the country, depressed as she was in a struggle with the three great maritime Powers of Europe, and a civil war of considerable extent, recovered herself in so short a period, what right has your Grace to

* Mr. Chalmers.

suppose

suppose that the same advantages may not arise from the same exertions, and the nation arrive at a degree of splendor in the year 1802, proportionate to that which she was found in 1792, compared to that of 1782?

Be assured, my Lord, that if you seriously lament the injury our trade receives from the difficulties of the moment, the book recommended to your perusal will afford you infinite consolation; and as Norfolk and Suffolk appear to have their Jasper Wilsons, as well as Liverpool, it will be an act of humanity to those wrong-headed gentlemen, and of justice to your Sovereign, to order an hundred copies of this inestimable performance to be distributed, for the information of those who prefer truth to falsehood, and on whose affections their country, its laws and government have not lost their hold.

But perhaps your Grace is yet to learn, that it is malicious to represent as perpetual, those calamities which are in their very nature of short duration. If the distresses are of the extent you describe; if famine and despondency prevail in distant provinces, it is wonderful that the disastrous state of our manufacturers has not been made public through channels less apocryphal, and better entitled to credit and respect.—For you, my Lord, to come forward, circumstanced as you are, and with all the mischiefs entailed

entailed on us by your pernicious councils, is the height of indecency—it is worse—it is an affront to the nation, and a libel on its Government.

For you, my Lord, to claim our confidence, after having so grossly abused it, and to pretend an attachment to those interests, which, on a variety of occasions, you have sacrificed to your spleen and convenience, are not atonements for past wrongs, but attempts at fresh insults, which, considering the temper of the times, it will be imprudent to repeat, lest they should remind the people of their obligations to others as well as to your Grace, and stimulate them to an irregular discharge of what it is your interest they should bury in oblivion.

We will spare you the perusal of names which, on this occasion, have precedency to that of Fitzroy, as well as those which, with much less pretensions to general hatred, have not been able to remove the suspicions excited by an abuse of the confidence reposed in them.

We do not allude to those, who, possessing the minds of lacqueys have not sufficient dignity to preserve them from infamous pursuits, nor the requisite talents to direct them to good ones.—But to men who, in their opposition to Government, have nothing in view but to engross the patronage, and to share the emoluments of office

rice among a beggarly train of cousins and dependents ; and who, without abilities to execute, or character to dignify the stations they solicit, have the arrogance to consider the wealth and industry of the nation as their inheritance. The attempts, direct and indirect, which were made on the constitutional rights of the people, from the commencement of the present reign down to the sad period of the American contest, afforded ample scope to men of enterprise to come forward, some few, with fair and honest designs, who really meant to serve their country, and others who acted without principle or union ;—both these descriptions of men assumed one common language ;—both opposed the measures of the Crown, and contended for that support and that confidence which was to ensure them success ;—that confidence was cheerfully granted, and your Grace is no stranger to the extent to which it has been abused.—Hence the distrust that prevails, and the necessity of that circumspection which can alone preserve us from similar frauds in future.—If we are grown cautious and suspicious, my Lord, it is because we have been deceived ; and it will surely be acknowledged, that we live to little purpose indeed, if we do not profit by experience.

We have been taught to estimate the moral rectitude of men, and the sincerity of their professions,

fessions, by the fidelity with which they discharge their engagements; and with this rule to direct us (the only guide whom we can trust, and the only one to whom we can refer) would it not argue insanity, or imbecility, if we were to give your Grace credit for sentiments to which the uniform tenor of a life far advanced on its journey, presents a full and complete contradiction?—Believe me, my Lord, that patriotism will neither afford you a safe nor an honourable retreat. Our credulity has been too often imposed upon, to allow you to hope any comfortable shelter in that quarter; nor should we have suspected your Grace capable of so flagrant a desertion of your former principles as to seek a refuge so contrary to your established habits, if the revolution which has taken place in men's minds had not awakened your fear for your personal safety, and suggested a possibility of avoiding the well-founded resentment of the people, by the pitiful expedient of pretending to support their interests!—The effort, I own, is not without precedent; and the experiment, in this awful moment, when bad men of *contrary* descriptions have much to *fear* and much to *hope*, was certainly worth trying; but what hope of success, my Lord, could *you* possibly entertain, while your strong and triumphant claim to that regular and systematic conduct, stands unimpeached,

unimpeached, and unimpaired, “ *which renders
“ your attachment infamy, and leaves ruin and dis-
“ grace behind it ?*”

So far, however, from suspecting your Grace of any serious intention to give the lie to the uniform tenor of your life ; we perceive in your mode of coming forward, a more than common solicitude, to preserve that consistency of conduct, which separates you as effectually from your fellow citizens, as if you were a distinct species ; and from whatever motive you may have acted, we are equally indebted to you for fortifying us in our natural distrust of your professions, and putting us on our guard against any future mischiefs you may intend us. But even admitting the purity of your intentions, where is the party that would act with you ? Where is the individual, my Lord, that will trust you ? where is the man, who, with any portion of reputation left, and anxious to preserve the remainder, would hazard it by associating it with that of yours ? To come forward in your declining days, and brave the public opinion, is effrontery, not courage. It resembles the desperate efforts of the ruined gamester, who stakes in despair his last guinea, and trusts to the hazard of the dye for a favourable issue.

Have a care, my Lord, the game you propose to play is deeper than you suspect. The people
are

are not uninformed of the foul and polluted source from whence you derive your rank and income. They are not to be told, that with one or two exceptions, your pedigree can claim more infamy, and less antiquity, than that of any other peer in Parliament, and, surely, under such circumstances, and under such an accumulation of hereditary and acquired odium, it ill becomes you to remind us of the impudent violation of the laws, by which your ancestor was advanced to honour and independence.

Be advised, my Lord, and do not add to the ill humour that prevails, lest it should extend to an enquiry, that may terminate in depriving you of what (by an unwarrantable and scandalous abuse of power) has been settled on your family, and force you to observe that economy from necessity, which you have latterly practised by choice.

Would your Grace wish to have your pretensions to the title you inherit, and to the income you possess, investigated by the wiser maxims* of the present day? Would you wish
it

* (The excitement to enterprise and industry in all nations, will ever be in proportion to the degree of security, with which property can be enjoyed and transmitted; and it is owing to this security, which is derived from our laws, that commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, have been carried
on

it to be revealed to the nation, and to the world, that one of the probable causes of your aversion to the war, is the diminution it may eventually occasion

on and improved, to a much greater extent in this country than in any other, while the laws themselves have acquired stability and respect, from the wisdom in which they are founded, and the fidelity with which they are executed.) I have judged this explanation necessary, lest it should be inferred, that I am infected with the licentiousness of the times, and would investigate title deeds, and level all distinctions, upon the same principles that the French have done.

I have no such design.—On the contrary, I have ever reprobated their conduct on this, and many other occasions, as absurd, impolitic, and iniquitous.

(But I make a distinction between the fruits of honest industry ; between reward bestowed on individuals, for great and meritorious services rendered to the State, and dissipations of the public revenue, for the purpose of providing for the spurious issue of Princes. I make a distinction between titles conferred on men who have deserved well of their country, and those which have been the recompence of adultery or incontinence. In the first instance, the Sovereign distributes wisely and honestly those honors, which the nation has entrusted to his disposal. In the second, he abuses the confidence reposed in him, and insults public morals, by giving splendour and éclat to prostitution.)—Charles the Second, in granting any portion of the public revenue to his illegitimate issue, was guilty of a breach of trust to the nation, and the Parliament that sanctioned the grant was an accomplice in the fraud. (The wiser maxims of the present day, forbid so scandalous a deviation from the line of duty prescribed to the crown. They ordain, that for all public distinction there

occasion in that part of your income, which, (in recompence to profligate libettinism) has been saddled on the Customs? Or do you think that its being generally known to arise from a fraudulent appropriation of the public revenue, (for in honest conscience, my Lord, what else can it be called) will render it more secure, or obtain affection and respect from the million whom you have by turns insulted, and carested?

(It is idle to suppose, that with the perfect knowledge which we have of your character and your principles, with the recollection of the mischiefs you have entailed on your country, and the odium annexed to your name, you can ever obtain, even a momentary popularity, for your professions of patriotism.) Nor is it possible, my Lord, that you can ever rise into notice or esteem, under any change of fortune, (however deplorable) that can possibly befall us. To claim our confidence, after the melancholy experience we have had of your incapacity and

there should be some public merit; that no member of society should be raised above the rest without an *equivalent* being given for the superiority; and as the principles of right and Civil Government, appear to be better understood, and better practised in this century, than they were in the last, it is fair to conclude, that men become just in proportion as they become enlightened.)

insincerity;

insincerity ; to come forward at this period of your life, with an affected anxiety for the prosperity of the empire ; with a dissembled concern for its peace and prosperity, exceeds all that hypocrisy has hitherto attempted ; all that arrogance has ever dared to assume ; it puts even impudence to the blush, and warns us with the voice of Scensor, to beware of Countersuits ! Be assured, my Lord, that it is as indecent in your Grace, to expect our confidence, as it would be criminal and absurd in us to bestow it. Is it not an insult to our understanding, that you, of all men in his Majesty's dominions, should presume to come forward, under the masque of patriotism, to embarrass the Executive Government ?—Are you aware, my Lord, of the consequences of such a conduct at a period like the present, when the unreserved support of every man in the three kingdoms should be fully and cheerfully given to the Crown ?—When the whole empire is called upon to resent unprovoked aggression, the object of which is to tear not only the diadem from the head of your Sovereign, but the shuttle from the weaver, the anvil from the smith, and the plough from the husbandman ?)

Is your Grace yet to learn, that the war is of an extent unexampled in the annals of the world ; that it aims no less to wrest from the labourer

labourer and mechanic the well-earned fruits of their honest industry, than to extinguish the power and annihilate the commerce of your country ? (Are you to be informed, after the woeful proofs we have had of the wild and execrable principles on which the French commenced this war, and have resolved to pursue it, that it is not only the dignity of the British empire we are defending, but our acres and our persons ?) That it is a contest between dissolute idleness and virtuous industry, as well as between nation and nation, and that the first has sworn to exterminate the second, or perish in the attempt ?—Is it possible that your Grace can be a stranger to the only conditions on which the French will listen to peace ?—Are you to be told, that they have resolved not to treat with any people who acknowledge a King or Nobility ?—And have you the indecency, as well as meanness, to abet an execrable banditti in so flagrant an attack on the sovereignty and independence of your country ?

(It has been the insolent boast of even the most temperate Frenchmen, that “ *Great Britain would soon become a province of France* ; ” and the decree of the Convention which indirectly prescribes to us the republican form of Government, seems to have been grafted on this impudent prognostic.---Good Good !: Great Britain

Britain a province to France!—Perish the thought, and with it those who would even connive at an humiliation no less injurious to the honour of their country, than it would prove fatal to her prosperity. The French have declared, “*that they will not treat with us while “ Monarchy exists in England.”*—What is this but dictating the law, and usurping a power, which our pride, no less than our interests, calls upon us to repel? Would your Grace, better informed on the subject, venture to recommend such ignominious conditions to your country?—Would you submit to purchase peace, desirable as it is, on terms so dishonourable? Would you dare, as the price of that peace, recommend Parliament to dethrone the Sovereign*, to whom you are bound by the sacred obligations of an oath, and whom it is your duty, as it is that of every individual in his dominions, to support?—Is your allegiance, my Lord, of such slight and flimsy texture, that it will break on

* If there is any one part of our invaluable Constitution to which I feel a partiality, it is the House of Commons; but democratic as I am, and as every Englishman ought to be, I would rather that the Monarchy, at this time, was strengthened than enfeebled.—I would rather that the Crown should acquire power than lose it, from a full conviction that whatever it loses the Commons will lose in equal proportion, and that if the *former* should be annihilated, the **LATTER** will not long survive it. }

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the slightest touch? Or is it as flexible as that of the late Duke of Orleans, easy to stretch, and ready to accommodate itself either to the reasonable demands of your legitimate Prince, or to the wild and sanguinary projects of the Wat Tylers and Jack Cades of the day? If it is supple, we know to what cause it is to be attributed; but though we are disposed to pardon constitutional timidity, we are not disposed to excuse that hereditary compound of pride, meanness, and fraud, which, varying with the occasion, would insult us, cringe to us, and impose on us!—Your Grace mistakes the English character, and over-rates your dexterity very considerably indeed, when you imagine we are to be deceived into an opinion either of your talents or disposition to serve us. It is not, be assured, my Lord, in the assumed character of a patriot that you appear to advantage; and it is a sorry compliment to our discernment, and a much worse to our pride, to suppose we stand in need of your Grace, or of any other Peer, to espouse our cause, even if we had cause of complaint against the confidential servants of the Crown.—Are we for ever to be insulted with such officious and impertinent interference?—Are we for ever destined to reprobate the evil, and deplore the calamity, of perpetually looking up to *great names* for protection and redress, while

while we have the power to confer the one, and to administer the other?—Is there no resource left for the collected wisdom and spirit of the country, but to enlist under the banners of one or other of the different factions, which, speculating in politics, or religion, as either may happen to suit their purpose, traffic with the public credulity, and bartering vain and empty professions of patriotism, in exchange for offices of trust and emolument, revel in the plunder of their country, and solicit our confidence only to abuse it?

My Lord, be prudent, and take advice; it is not the worse for being anonymous. Acquainted as we are, with the texture and complexion of your principles, we must arrive at the lowest state of degradation, before we can possibly descend to accept of assistance or advice from the man who has injured and insulted us.

If this should appear an enigma to your Grace, you will find the solution in your own breast.

The world has found it in your conduct.

If the season of delusion was not past, our experience would be a bar to your hopes, which, even the fertile resources of a mind like yours, would not be able to destroy. Besides, we have been too often duped by professions of patriotism, to trust to the promises of even less excep-

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tionable characters : And your Grace will do well to remember, that with every possible hereditary claim to the averfion and contempt of the Britifh nation, it has an account of a perfonal nature to fettle with you, in which your defertion of the late Earl of Chatham, and your wanton, not to fay audacious violation of the Conftitution, in the cafe of the Middlefex Election, will certainly not be forgotten. Is it not fingular, my Lord, that the fame petulance, the fame paffion for rash and idle enterprife which diftinguifhed your youth, fhould mark your defcent to the grave ? And, is it not extraordinary, that you fhould never take part in our public councils, without expofing the fecurity of Government, or the honour of the nation ? But it is perfectly in character, that the man who began by betraying his Sovereign, fhould finish by infulting him ; in the former inftance, you would have made your Royal Mafter the accomplice of your guilt ; in the latter, it is the people whom you would feduc into a participation of your infamy, and render the inftruments of their own deftruction. In the firft inftance, it was the King whom you would have fet at variance with his fubjects.

In the fecond, it is the fubject whom you would arm againft the prince, but better inftructed in our duties, we are as little difpofed to

to borrow our loyalty from your Grace, as the King, we trust, is to reign by the maxims of the family from whom you are descended.

Happily, my Lord, the reciprocal obligations between the Throne and the people, the principle on which these obligations are founded, and the sentiment by which they are converted into affections are too well understood, and too generally acknowledged, to be injured by any arguments that your Grace can possibly advance. But, tho' your efforts have proved unsuccessful, the attempt was not less atrocious, and it would be difficult to account for a conduct no less weak than criminal, if we did not know from melancholy experience, the unhappy bias in your mind to pervert and misapply your talents and your time, and to act in every situation of public or of private life, in direct opposition to the best established, and most approved maxims, for our conduct in both. Under the extraordinary circumstances of the present times, when every foul and iniquitous artifice is employed to bring monarchy into contempt that ingenuity can devise, or profligacy avow ; when with a dark and malignant design to subvert all our establishments, an insidious attack is made on the Throne, and Royalty represented to be at once useless, expensive, and disgraceful ; it becomes the immediate duty, and, I trust, it will

will be the pride of every individual in the British Empire to support the Sovereign in the constitutional exercise of his Prerogative, and enable him to resist successfully and decidedly, every attempt that may be made to diminish his authority, or lessen the respect due to the important and elevated rank which he holds in society.

Such is the sentiment that animates, with very few exceptions, all ranks and descriptions of people in this country.—Such the line of conduct, my Lord, they have adopted, and mean to pursue, not so much from their fate, at this awful, this eventful moment, being involved in that of their Sovereign, as from motives of personal regard, and a wish, perhaps, to atone for those opinions entertained to his disadvantage, when your Grace, high in the confidence of your Royal Master, stood, like Iago, between the people and the object of their hopes, inspiring both with distrust of each other's intentions.—My Lord, we have not yet forgotten, nor are we disposed to pardon, the infamy of leaving the metropolis of the British Empire at the mercy of a lawless rabble, and preferring the disreputable amusements of Newmarket to the faithful discharge of your duty as first Minister. We still remember your mean and cowardly desertion of your Sovereign in the moment of danger,

ger, when his person and his family were exposed to the fury and licentiousness of a misguided rabble.—When the profligacy of your morals, contrasted with the unaffected piety of his Majesty, brought the sincerity of the latter into question, and the faithful discharge of the duties of religion and morality into disrepute.

These were no slight and common offences ; they tended to influence the public opinion in the most serious and important concerns of life, and to give to the sincere and solemn practice of devotion the appearance of hypocrisy.

It was also at this period, my Lord, that the people were taught to annex the idea of liberty with the name of Wilkes, and, by a logical deduction worthy of their capacities, to associate the idea of tyranny with that of a King.—We do not owe it to any exertions of your Grace, that this distinction was not established in the minds of men, and carried to the same excess, and attended with the same terrible effects as in France.—Whenever such an opinion is adopted, and becomes general in this country, woe to the Monarchy and to all the sumptuous appendages of Royalty !—It is the clear evidence of this very obvious truth that renders your recent conduct in Parliament as inexplicable as your former councils were pernicious, and something more than an apology is due for having countenanced a measure,

a measure, whose iniquity is not less conspicuous than its folly, and which you knew in your conscience at the time to have been absolutely impracticable—Not from any conviction that Ministers were determined to carry on the war, or that Parliament was resolved to support them in the vigorous prosecution of a contest which they could not have avoided, but from the absolute impossibility, of France being able to put an end to hostilities.—Her own safety, or at least the safety of those who have usurped the dominion of that country, requires a still farther and most enormous expence of blood *.—It is an acknowledged truth, my Lord, that France could not accept of peace, were the combined powers disposed to offer it.

Indeed, there are strong reasons for suspecting, that this fact was even acknowledged by those who acted in direct opposition to their conviction, and whose motive for coming for-

* It was one of the favourite dogmas of the Abbé Sieyès, from the very commencement of the Revolution, and which his disciples have since maintained, with a success proportioned to their execrable zeal, “ that the population of France must be diminished at least TWO MILLIONS.” The mode of effecting that diminution was also pointed out, and the assassinations and proscriptions which have ensued, sufficiently prove that the advice of the priest has not been neglected.

ward

ward with a motion for peace, was less to serve the cause of humanity than to force themselves into power.

The violated rights of men, and the interests and prosperity of the kingdom, will always afford abundant matter for declamation ; they are the ready means to captivate the multitude, who judging of other men's sincerity by their own, are too apt to give credit for the good faith of professions whose object is delusion. It has ever been the practice of those who have aspired to a share in his Majesty's councils, to have recourse to this more than impudent, this dishonourable expedient, and (which is a strong reflection at once on our folly and credulity ;) they have generally succeeded. Men who are influenced by considerations of personal interest, and mean nothing more by serving their country than to serve themselves, will not be very delicate in their choice of means ; and whether the Throne is taken by storm, or whether it is compelled to capitulate, their purpose is equally answered, and the nation is equally insulted.—The extent to which these arts have been practised in a neighbouring country, ought to serve as a lesson, not only to well-meaning men of warm tempers, the purity of whose motives will sometimes operate as a check on their enthusiasm, but to men of inordinate vanity and ambition,

bition, who call forth the dissolute and indigent, to enable them to accomplish their criminal designs.—Is it already become necessary, my Lord, with examples so numerous, so recent, and so strong, before us, to remind your Grace, that every man in France of both descriptions has fallen a victim to his guilt or folly? Have we not beheld, under the different impressions of sorrow and of joy, of astonishment, anger, pity, and indignation, the various orders of Nobility, from Princes of the Blood down to the Noblesse • of the Robe and Finance *, swept off the stage in regular succession, as they came forward to take the lead, and direct that mass which they imagined could be moulded and fashioned to their purpose like wax? What are become of the Montmorencys, the Noailles, Liancourts, d'Aiguillons, and Lameths?—They are in exile—poor and obscure, and with scarce the means of subsistence!—What is become of Neckar, that busy quack in politics, literature, and finance—his own bubble, as well as of others, and who was compelled to fly from the unprovoked fury of the very mob that idolized him?—A fugitive, remembered only to be despised.—Where is the vain, the indiscreet, and

* Lawyers, Bankers, and Farmers-General.

misguided

misguided La Fayette*?—He is in a dungeon—his fame, splendour, and authority, extinguished for ever!—Where are the Biron, the Broglie,

* Although I am perfectly convinced that Parliament could not, with propriety, take cognizance of the arrest and detention of M. de la Fayette; yet no doubt exists in my mind that the former was an atrocious act of tyranny, without example or excuse, and that the latter is as infamous and oppressive as it is impolitic and unjust. Feeling this conviction, and impressed with these sentiments, I honour the generosity of the man who made an ineffectual effort to rescue an unfortunate victim from disgraceful and unmerited confinement; however a dastardly Noblesse, without dignity or virtue, may slander the man they would not dare to face; with whatever rancour a lazy, profligate and lying priesthood, ignorant of their country and of the age they live in, may retail such slanders; with whatever violence the Convention may pursue, the memory of M. de la Fayette, I aver it as a fact, that Mr. Burke is the last man upon earth who should join in the clamour of this senseless, worthless rabble, against an unfortunate individual, who suffers for the same cause for which Hamden bled——THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY!

(Mr. Burke had dared to pronounce M. de la Fayette guilty, and with all the vehemence of licentious eloquence, to brand him as a traitor:—But in what consists his guilt? Who did he betray—What friend, what party, has he perfidiously deserted—In what instance has he proved himself an apostate? Surely there is nothing criminal in endeavouring to crush despotism—Neither was it reasonable to endeavour to break the fetters which held his degraded countrymen in bondage, and restore them to the rank of manhood in society—

lios, Custines, and Baillys?—They are underground, my Lord:—their headless trunks still bleeding, bear rueful testimony of the danger of seducing

ciety—If he failed in the attempt, if less versed in the doctrines of revolution than his vindictive adversary, he fell in the attempt, it was his misfortune not his crime! but allowing him to have been criminal, does the loss of fortune, of liberty, and of all the endearing comforts of life, weigh nothing in the opposite scale?—Will his being immured in a dungeon, excluded from the light of Heaven, torn from his friends, and uninformed of the sad destiny of his virtuous, hapless family, surrounded by assassins, and pining in grief and solitude, count for nothing?—Is it no atonement for his vices or his errors, that he is exposed to suffer still greater, and, if possible, more excruciating torments from the unrelenting malice of the unprincipled and dignified jailor who holds him in bondage?—Can the *mild* and *beneficent* temper of Mr. Burke discover no expiation for past offences under the pressure of such agonizing distress?—What purity, what rectitude of mind; what tenderness of heart must that man possess, and what ideas of criminal jurisprudence must he have formed, who, in his pretended zeal for national justice, in his extreme ardour for severe and exemplary punishment, can count such rigorous, such heavy ameracements for nothing?—To what tension are the faculties of that man capable, who refining on cruelty, denies that these enumerated penalties entitle the hapless victim to a mitigation of his sufferings?

What texture must his heart be, who, unprovoked by any personal wrong, or uninfluenced by considerations of public utility, could wantonly add, by invective and falsehoods, to the afflictions of a man, whose existence, in the very prime of life, is mouldering to ruin, within a loathsome, damp, and dreary dungeon?

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seducing from the sober path of industry a senseless multitude, incapable of directing itself even for its own advantage.) But were there even no danger,

(How painful must it have been for a British House of Commons to listen to the foul and malevolent harangues of a man, who having spanielled through life at the heels of nobility, is now become a pander to authority, an instrument of oppression, a vehicle of slander to an itinerant dissolute priesthood, a kind of jackall to a beggarly crew of French Bishops and Nobles, running about with them from house to house, and from door to door, with all the fury of a Bedlamite, as if his mind was as distempered as his heart appears callous and insensible to the claims of benevolence.) We are no strangers to the Gentleman's partiality for the Church of Rome, and can trace in the intemperance of his zeal for its vile and contemptible clergy, an anxiety to return to the track from which interest and convenience may possibly have seduced him in early life. Nor are we uninformed of the accommodating spirit of a religion that still traffics in indulgences, and which has neither forgotten the craft, nor relinquished the authority it possessed in the 14th century.

We know that it occasionally admits the most faithful of its flock to wander from the fold, with absolution in advance, lest an accident should happen before the pious vagrant, or rather the licensed apostate, can get back.—Whether Mr. Burke is in this predicament; whether he is out upon bail on a promise to return before the last day of term, or whether he is come back, and obtained a *billet de confession* (a certificate) from the Bishop of St. Pol de Léon, it is needless to enquire; all I pretend to assert is, that from the whole of his conduct, it is evident the principles of the Jesuits have survived the abolition of their order.

For

Mile &
Burke

danger, is there not cruelty in calling from honest, useful labourers many valuable citizens, and converting them into as many unprincipled vagabonds?

For this man to come forward with a proud boast of his loyalty—with a new-fangled zeal for the family on the throne, while he reprobates the men, and condemns the means that led to their advancement, is as impudent as it is contrary to his former conduct and declarations in Parliament.

Of what complexion, and of what nature is that loyalty, which condemns M. de la Fayette, and approves of Mr. Washington? In what consists the difference in the conduct and situation of these Gentlemen at the different epochs of 1774 and 1789? The latter was called by the unanimous voice of his countrymen, to take the command of a mob that had not acquired the honourable distinction of an army, and whose object was to resist the execution of laws deemed vexatious, and acknowledged to be contrary to the known constitutional rights of Englishmen.—The former was also invited by a decided majority of his countrymen to rescue from the French King a power which had been frequently abused, and which, by being undefined, was incompatible with the principles on which ALL GOVERNMENTS ought to be established.—The views and appointments of both these Generals were precisely the same; and hostile as Mr. Burke has lately become to reform and to revolutions, we know that he once countenanced insurrection, and gloried in the rebellion that severed his country from America.—We know that he wept at the victories of his country, and at the defeats of her enemies.—With what decency then can he give his curses to La Fayette and his benediction to Washington? With what claim to credit or respect can he abuse men who are, according to his former doctrines, only culpable because they were unfortunate?

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gabonds? Can your Grace reflect on the sad catastrophe of the amiable, the virtuous Clermont de-Tonnere, and not shed a tear of pity on his unhallowed

Is it Mr. Burke who triumphed at the victories, and wept at the defeats of Washington, that arraigns the loyalty of M. de la Fayette, and condemns him for erecting the standard of revolt?

Is it Mr. Burke who carried on a correspondence with Dr. Franklin at Paris, during the whole period of our disgraceful contest with America, and who supported with all the fervour of enthusiasm the rebellion, as it was called, that now finds the conduct of M. de la Fayette criminal?—Is the suspicious evidence of men who deserted their acres on the first alarm, and who abjectly sigh for that tyranny which they alternately felt and exercised, to be received in preference to facts? And is it with such beings that Mr. Burke, a Member of the British Parliament, descends to associate, and partaking of their baseness, would wrest from an absent and distressed individual, defenceless and forlorn, all that the savage ferocity of a vindictive tyrant has left him—man's last and dearest refuge—HOPE!—Is it Mr. Burke that has joined a cowardly race of miscreants to assassinate the character of a man whom the stoutest of them would tremble to encounter, and shrink into nothing at the sight of? Is it Mr. Burke that offers himself as a sample of loyalty, and arrogates the right of prescribing to us rules of allegiance?—Is it Mr. Burke, in whom this spring-tide of loyalty flows in such profusion, who, callous to every sentiment of duty, of humanity, and of generosity, insulted fallen Majesty in that awful and distressing moment of universal grief and despondency, when every face was marked with affliction and gloom? Is this the apostle of religion, who, when every heart

hallowed grave?—Can you open the enormous volume of modern martyrs, and not tremble for your own fate, in following even the example of
of

heart but his own was dissolved in sorrow, and every cheek bedewed with tears, pronouncing the illness of his Sovereign to be the well merited vengeance of Heaven*, rejoiced at a calamity which threatened his country with the greatest of all misfortunes? Has this man the effrontery to prate publicly of duty and affection for Kings?

Is it Mr. Burke that espoused the cause, and vindicated the honour of his deputy (Powel) who, ashamed of a panegyrick he did not deserve, put a period to his existence, and gave the lie to the fulsome eulogiums of his parasite, that has the assurance to make a parade of his virtues, and to talk of submission to the laws, reverence for the magistrates, and loyalty to the Throne?—The Throne that he has vilified, and ridiculed!

The crow contents itself with carrion, and batters on the moor; but this man, a glutton and an epicure, flies at higher game, and sets repletion at defiance; it is not the common, ordinary food of birds or beasts of prey that suits him—his voracious and insatiate appetite must gormandize on dainties: and Kings, Ministers, Admirals, Generals, and Nabobs, have all fallen in their turn under the venomous gripe of his rude and savage claws.

(The brutal Philippic of Mr. Burke against M. de la Fayette, on the 17th inst. in the House of Commons, does not require to be contrasted with the mildness, equity, and liberality of Mr. Pitt, to render its malignity more evident.)
It has been the misfortune of the former Gentleman, not only to have courted and espoused error through life, but to
have

* Vide the Parliamentary Debates on the Regency.

of the most temperate and just among them? The first name that occurs, in contemplating the convulsed, and disastrous state of France, is that

have persisted in it with a degree of obstinacy and acrimony, ill suited to the situation to which his talents have raised him, and to that respect which he owes to himself and to others.— It has also been his misfortune to have kept bad company, not from necessity but choice, and on occasions where we are led to suspect that his principles are as much to be blamed as his taste. From the maxims he has lately advanced, and the virulence which marks his language wherever he fatigues debate, (it is evident that the Gentleman has become the echo of a class of Frenchmen, who, though mendicants and exiles, are no less reprehensible than the Jacobins, whom he anathematizes with more than ecclesiastical rancour.

I am as little disposed to think favourably of the latter as Mr. Burke, but if I were called upon to decide between these two descriptions of people, I should be much puzzled to know to which of them the preference ought to be given. It is really hard to decide which is the more noxious animal of the two, the MONKEY or the TYGER—I certainly would take neither of them to my arms.—It is not very creditable to this Gentleman, that he should become the mouth-piece of a despicable herd of fugitives, to the full as void of principle as those whom he reprobates; and it may not be amiss to remind him, that it is not by such language and such doctrines, as those to which he has accustomed himself of late, that the English Government is to be supported.—Its best friends, men who have been uniformly and passionately attached to the Constitution in all the gusts and tempests of faction, are not to be BULLIED into loyalty by the impudent menaces of an individual not very respectable or consistent,

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and

that of Orleans :—He had recourse to the dangerous expedient of inviting the sons and daughters of vice and wretchedness from their
caves

and who has run up and down the notes of the political gamut, in all its various keys, until even discord sickened at the sound ! Neither is it easy to seduce them to confide in the assertions of a man who receives his creed implicitly from the vagabond herd of ecclesiastical mountebanks, who are suffered to eat the bread of idleness through the mistaken bounty of this country, and “ *who encumber the land they ought to fertilize.*”

I am vexed at the forward, not to say impudent zeal of Mr. Burke—a zeal too recent to be sincere, and too officious to serve the cause to which he pretends such violent attachment. I am persuaded it would be of much use to Government, if this Gentleman could be prevented from scribbling or prating. His imagination, run wild, requires to be tempered by discretion ; and he appears, by his late unmanly abuse of a distressed and fallen object, to be as deficient in humanity as he is in judgment.

Magnificent sentences from such men may flatter the prejudices of those who resemble them, and tickle the ears of those who prefer sound to sense, and declamation to truth ; but the Government that looks up to such beings for support, miserably deceives itself, and manifests a wish, rather to sustain itself by fraud or violence than by equity and reason. We know that the British Government disdains such aid ; that it holds in abhorrence such means ; it is therefore to undeceive those who, uninformed of the purity of the present Administration, may be led to consider Mr. Burke as the interpreter of their sentiments, and attribute the nonsense, malignancy, and reveries of an intemperate, and sometimes
insane

caves and lurking places; and that the passions of these mis-shapen Knaves; naturally violent when let loose from restraint, might be inflamed
to

insane individual, to an administration to whom this country has the most serious obligations.—The country, well apprized of the danger with which the Constitution has been menaced, is firmly resolved to support Government with all its force; and with such a support, Ministers can have nothing to hope, and surely they have nothing to fear, from the applause or censure of a man who has done little else than vibrate between extravagance of every kind, and who has proved himself to be, by the language he holds, and the principles he avows, much better qualified for a Satrap in Persia, than the citizen of a free country.

A torrent of invective, as illiberal as it was copious and unprovoked, was not sufficient to satisfy the spleen and savage animosity of this Gentleman.—Not content with departing from the decorum of parliamentary debate, and wandering into a loose, desultory discourse, irrelative to the question, and certainly not very humane, he advanced charges unsupported by facts*, and threw out insinuations to which the uniform conduct of M. de la Fayette, presents a direct and complete refutation. (As a proof of the injustice offered to this forlorn victim of inexorable tyranny, whose lamentable condition affords matter of indecent merriment to the despicable Aristocracy of his own country, and of malignant triumph to Mr. Burke and his no less despicable associates in this, I have given extracts from two letters, dated Paris, the 23d February, 1791, written by Mr. Miles, and addressed, one of them to Sir Edward Newenham, in Dublin, and the other to Henry James Pye, Esq. at Testwood Lodge, Haunts. It is with the permission of these Gentlemen that
D 2 they

* Vide the Exculpation of M. de la Fayette at the end.

to the highest pitch, and qualified for deeds of darkness, the press was called in to flatter their power, and to drive them furious. No magic could

they are published; and as the writer of them is preparing his interesting correspondence, during his residence on the continent, for the press, there is no doubt but the character of an unfortunate individual will soon be vindicated by an authority much more respectable for its veracity than those of his bitter and vindictive accuser.

The extracts are as follow; and the candid are left to judge whether M. de la Fayette acted with that perfidy and hostility towards the Royal Family with which Mr. Burke has reproached him, not with the candour, or temperance of a Gentleman, but with the violence of a ruffian!

To Sir EDWARD NEWHAM.

Paris, 23 Feb. 1791.

"An immense crowd, preceded by the pèrards, went last night to the Luxembourg, in consequence of a report that Monsieur was preparing to depart. A deputation only was admitted; these he assured that, "he never had a thought to separate himself from his country and his brother; and he gave his word of honour that he would never forsake the King."—Upon which one of the women demanded, "Mais si le Roi s'en va? To which he answered—"Qui est ce qui est si indigne de me faire une pareille question?" The deputations then insisted on seeing his wife.—He said she was at her toilette. No matter, they replied—they must and would see her; and finally Madame appeared.—A well dressed man came afterwards to the Tuilleries, and desired to see Mons. de la Fayette. He was told that he was with the King.—He persisted on seeing him, and required he should be sent for.—La Fayette came, attended by two officers of the Municipality. The man insisted on speaking to him alone and

could afterwards charm these Calibans to rest ;
and yet, my Lord, incredible as it will appear
to future ages, we have our Trinculos and Ste-
phanos,

and in private.—He said that he had no secrets from these gentlemen, whose duty it was to be present ; upon which this person informed your friend that “ Monsieur was to leave Paris that night, escorted by 1500 cavaliers, who were at the Luxembourg and its environs.”—The answer of La Fayette does him honour.—“ Je vous donne ma parole d’honneur que si “ Monsieur pars, je l’arrêterai & puisque les nouvelles que “ vous venez de me donner sont très importantes, je vous “ arrête jusque ce que vous ayiez verifié le fait.”

I really trembled for La Fayette when he pronounced the order for seizing this man ; I was at his elbow, and expected to see the informer changed into an assassin—

The danger to which La Fayette is exposed is incredible, and as he flies with alacrity on the least alarm to the protection of his imprisoned Sovereign, and as his vigilance is every where given in aid of a police exasperated, disjointed, and broken, he has incurred the suspicion of being attached to the Court, and inimical to the people. He has great coolness as well as great firmness of mind, and great intrepidity, but his resources are not equal to his courage; and as he is pursued with equal fury by those who wish to supplant him in his command, and by those who are resolved to exterminate the Royal Family, his very loyalty will accomplish his destruction. Believe me, my dear Newenham, that he will either fall by some ignoble hand, or be driven into exile ; and this prediction of mine I have often repeated to him.”

TO HENRY JAMES PIER, Esq.

Paris, 23 Feb. 1791.

“ Unpleasant reports are in circulation, and which, if they obtain credit, must produce much mischief and bloodshed. It is said
that

phanos, impatient to pay court to the monster, and possess the Isle.

The Duke of Orleans, acting from the double motives of pique, and lust of power, felt neither

that the King and Dauphin, with the Queen, were to follow Monsieur, whom I informed you in my last was preparing to get away privately.—It is also said that 37,000 assassins, distributed in Paris, and armed with stilettos imported from Turin, some of which have been shewn to me, were to massacre the patriots in the metropolis, while the Emperor invaded France on the side of Brabant with a powerful army, and the Aristocracy rose in the Provinces.—Here is a mine, my dear Sir, sufficient to blow up the Tuilleries in an instant; in consequence of which, the Luxembourg, which is the residence of Monsieur, was invested by the mob before eight o'clock last night, and he was conducted in disgraceful triumph to the Chateau of his hapless brother, followed and menaced by the rabble.—It was with extreme difficulty that the people were restrained from violence,

" Cannon were placed before the entrance of the Tuilleries; the matches were lighted, and the gunners had directions to fire on the first alarm.

" The mob becoming clamorous, insisted on extirpating every vestige of Royalty, and but for the undaunted and decided conduct of La Fayette, would have ascended to the apartments of the King and Queen, in which case I am convinced that neither of them would have beheld the "morrow's dawn."—It was the firm manner in which La Fayette acted that imposed on the multitude, and obtained a respite for the lives of the King and Queen, whom you may be assured will certainly perish in some of these tumults.—I was present at this distressing scene, and was astonished to find the King more collected and less alarmed than the Mayor. I descended from the royal apartments, and mixing with the mob, perceived

ther shame not remorse at associating with men of the lowest rank and most abandoned characters.—In the commencement of his political career,

ceived several faces among them, whom I remember to have seen on better occasions, and in better places.

“ My indignation provoked me to deliver my sentiments to the misguided populace with the same unreserved freedom as I have transmitted them to you, for which my friends here tax me with indiscretion—mais c’était plus fort que moi—I cannot bear that either insult or oppression should be offered to others any more than to myself; and on these occasions, rank and extravagant as the Quixotism may appear to you, I always feel disposed to make a common cause with the wretched, and vindicate their rights.”)

Of what nature is the humanity of Mr. Burke, that mocked the agonizing pangs of his country in the hour of alarm for its beloved Sovereign, and that now weeps so abundantly over an outcast crew of mitred hypocrites, whose practical atheism has been infinitely more injurious to morals and religion, than all the wild and incoherent speculations of Voltaire and Rousseau?

What are we to call this new-fangled zeal for Majesty which has lately blazed forth with such uncommon violence in Mr. Burke? What are those new doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance which he has the effrontery to bellow in our ears, as the measure of our duty, and the criterion of our affections? Is it from this man that we are to learn our obligations to the King and to his Government? From the man whose whole life almost has been marked by a steady, uninterrupted, and sometimes ferocious opposition to the Crown?

root, it was Orleans, Mirabeau, Barnave, and Co. but as the rabble, invited by the profusion of their Chief, accumulated and acquired force, they

Crowd? From the man whose sudden and extraordinary conversion was less a matter of surprise to the world, who knew him *little*, than to his associates, who thought they knew him *well*?—Is it this man, who “*stiff in opinion, ever in the wrong*,” that bends his proud knee to offended Majesty, and whose mind, become pliant, yields to the authority it spurned? Is it Mr. Burke who has treated royalty like a very drab, that pretends to a purer loyalty than the rest of the nation, and that should teach us what a British subject owes to a British Sovereign? Is it to his warehouse that we are to resort in future, not for fair and rational allegiance, such as the laws and Constitution prescribe and authorize, but for that unqualified submission to undefined power which has been prohibited, decried, and reprobated as dangerous and infamous ever since the year 1688, and which this Jesuit in politics, as well as in religion, would smuggle back into the country, and deal out to us in portions sufficient to disgust and provoke revolt in the veriest slave under the ancient Gavel laws in France?—Is it this camelion that receives its hue from the transitory influence of passing objects, that pretends to bestow on others a permanent and never-fading complexion? Away with such impertinence; and attached as we are to our Sovereign from gratitude and affection; bound as we are by duty and by interest to support the laws and Constitution of our country, let us reject the insolent mandates of this high priest—who arrogates to himself the right of dictating to us in matters of Government, and who pretends to be the only loyal subject within his Majesty’s dominions.——
Let us leave this sovereign pontiff of a new description to lament

(41)

they claimed a share in the profitable business, of revolutions, and presently engrossed the whole trade to themselves; they even found themselves in a condition to establish similar factories in other countries, and had the address to engage men of rank and fortune, but of little sense, and less discretion, in the hazardous enterprise of oversetting States and Empires.— Before this final change took place, M. Orleans found himself compelled to turn out his old, and receive new partners. The firm was afterwards changed to Orleans, Danton, Robespierre, Barrere, and Marat. But the first name soon gave place to the latter; and as these have since perished, one by the guillotine, and the other by a poignard, the triumvirate that remains have continued for the moment to monopolize the entire trade.—How long they will be allowed to carry it on belongs to pro-

ment that he cannot introduce in this happy country, *Bastilles*, *Lettres de Cachet*, and all the other disgraceful implements of Despotism.

Let us leave him to console the wretched *congregation* of *barefooted Carmelites* whom he has assembled at Beconsfield, and whom he feeds with the vain hope of restoring to the land from which they have been deservedly driven: It is time to leave him to his reflections, with this admonition, however, that if he trespasses again on the good sense of the nation, I will pursue him until he turns, like the enraged viper, on himself, and expires by his own poison.

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phcey to foretell, and to time to reveal.—My business is merely to submit the facts to your consideration, and to enquire what right your Grace has to expect better treatment than those who have gone before you in the dangerous experiment of disturbing the public mind, and opposing the measures of Government?—I have no doubt but the pennyless cobbler in Piccadilly, who having no longer any boots or shoes to vamp, has undertaken to new vamp the State, would have no objections to your name standing first in the partnership. But let the gentleman traffic on the credit of your name, and call for supplies from your pocket, and how long do you think your Grace will be allowed the distinction, or enjoy the *prisaige on wines* * ?

Believe me, my Lord, it would soon be Hardy and Grafton, or rather, Hardy and Fitzroy, perhaps Palmer †, not only to remind you of your origin, but in hatred to the word King in any language; and thus degraded and bap-

* Part of his income. Vide the grant of Charles II.

† Charles the Second, forgetting that nobility without virtue is exalted infamy, created this woman Duchess of Cleveland; and according to the historian, she was "*prodigal, rapacious, dissolute, violent, and revengeful*."

Hume's History, vol. vii. page 392.

tized,

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tized, your Grace would be compelled to chaunt
in unison with your companion—

“ We'll new vamp the State,

“ The Church we'll translate,

“ Old shoes are no more worth their mending.”

Whether your Grace has a taste or voice for fingering, I know not, but I can easily believe that such airs, and in such company, would not vibrâre sweet music to your ear. Under such distressing circumstances, humbled, ruined, and stung with remorse, it is possible you might be provoked, but from a better motive, to follow the example of the Duke of Orleans, and demand, at some section or municipality, another name, in the poor and wretched hope that your former rank and splendor would be forgotten in the change. What was the effect of a mean and abject servility in the most infamous of the Bourbons, would, I am willing to believe, be the result of pride in your Grace, to hide your shame; but contrition would then be too late. Giving your Grace, however, credit for the ostensible motives of your conduct, on what ground, permit us to enquire, of fair and reasonable hope could you recommend his Majesty to propose overtures of peace, without being previously assured that they would be accepted, or at least attended to by the enemy?—Are you certain
that

that a cessation of hostilities would be a measure of policy, on the part of France, at this moment—or that it is even practicable?—Do you know for certain, my Lord, that it would be as desirable an object to the French Convention, without any preparatory steps to reconcile men's minds to such an event, as it unquestionably would be under certain conditions to this country? Are there no other difficulties in the way of peace, but those which have been attributed with such little decency to the passions and interests of a few individuals?—“*Would there be no danger in France receiving suddenly into her bosom an enormous population, distributed into fifteen armies, and accustomed to every species of dissolute licentiousness?*”—What, in the name of that humanity which you profess, would be the conduct and pursuits of a disbanded multitude, permitted to run riot in the very centres of that distracted country, in which the existing laws are too weak to afford protection to those who actually inhabit it?

These circumstances should have been well considered, before your Grace took share in a debate, the result of which is so little likely to answer either the avowed or secret purpose of the man who proposed and commenced it.—I have hitherto addressed your Grace, in the first person plural; from a conviction, that in
delivering

delivering my sentiments, I was delivering those of my country; but as I shall have occasion to refer to papers and to letters within my own knowledge, and some of which are in my possession; as it will be necessary to quote private authorities, and which for very obvious reasons, must remain anonymous; I shall hereafter speak immediately from myself, and take my chance for my correspondence and assertions obtaining that credit, which I know to be due to them.—I do not venture on rash and ill-founded assertions—I speak from authority, from clear and indisputable testimony, from the evidence of men well qualified to pronounce, and certainly much better informed, my Lord, than either of us of the temper of their country, and of its disposition and capacity for peace—Of men, who, convinced that wars engender and multiply crimes, are as anxious for peace as your Grace, and who would cheerfully co-operate in terminating a contest, which only adds to the afflicting catalogue of human wretchedness.

My channels of information are to the full as authentic, and as respectable as those of your Noble Colleague, without my having recourse to the dangerous expedient of a clandestine correspondence with the *enemies* of my country, or to the dishonourable means of preserving it, by
commu-

communications which impeach the loyalty of the citizen.—It is on the credit of the authority to which I allude, that I inform your Grace, France is not in a situation even to listen to overtures of peace, much less to promise them ; and that no doubt of her deplorable condition should remain, I subjoin the copy of a letter *, dated the 7th ultimo, which will prove the

* “ Je pense comme vous, que la France peut faire les premières overtures sans se degrader, parceque le punctilio diplomatique très convenables aux Ministres des Rois, ne convient plus guère à une nation, dont la philosophie (quoiqu'on en dise) a commencé & achevera la regeneration, & parceque cette nation a développé une energie sans exemple dans les fastes de l'histoire—Mais je dois vous faire part des difficultés que je prevois.

“ Je connois votre philanthropie, & j'ai du regret que les circonstances m'otent tout espoir de voir de sitôt, une fin à la guerre—Ne pensez donc plus à present à la paix.

“ Si c'est une paix partielle l'Angleterre n'y consentiroit pas ; si c'est une paix generale, je doute si la France y consentiroit—Elle est devenue un camp, & les Français se sont faits tout soldats.

“ Seroit-il donc prudent de rappeler brusquement dans ses foyers cette masse enorme repartie en quinze armées ? Ne seroit-il pas à craindre que cette rupture violente des gouts, de la licence, &c. militaires, ne nous replongeât dans des nouveaux troubles ? et la politique ne conseilleroit elle pas de conserver un salut étranger à l'inquiétude d'esprit, & à la surabondance d'activité qu'une guerre de cette nature a dû necessairement développer ? Je vous ai parlé dans tout

the very little prospect there is of putting an end to the complicated miseries which desolate Europe,) and menace the world with a prolongation of a war, disastrous beyond doubt to all the parties concerned, but much less so to this country than to the powers on the continent, and in which Ministers, with every disposition to terminate it that policy or humanity can suggest, must persevere until France is in a situation, we will not say to propose peace, but to accept it, without the risque of plunging herself into fresh, and greater difficulties, than those under which she at present labours.

(The letter from which the annexed extract is taken, was written by one of the most intelligent, and best informed men in France.) By the man, my Lord, who, whenever the season of negotiation arrives, will most probably be charged with the pleasing and important mission, to the British court. To an excellent understanding, he unites an integrity, that is incorruptible; and if the rest of his countrymen possessed his virtues, and his talents, France would have escaped the miseries, to which she has been a prey, ever since her weak and perfidious Monarch, preferred holding the sceptre

“ tout ceci, mon cher ami, à cœur ouvert, & je laisse à
 “ votre prudence, & à votre amitié, la détermination de l’u-
 “ sage que vous en pouvez faire.”

by

by corruption, and secret intrigue, to the magnanimity of resigning, or defending it like a man. The danger which my correspondent apprehends would arise from the sudden and abrupt dissolution of the armies of the Republic, is far from being chimerical. The mischiefs which he supposes would ensue, from the change of habits, passions, and military license, to that docency, order and submission, compatible with the peace of civil society, are experienced to a certain degree in this country at the close of every war. It is not in an instant, that the morals and manners of mankind are to be changed, and we have learnt from your Grace, that some dispositions *can never* be corrected. If robberies and murders, are more frequent in England whenever her military establishments are reduced; and riot and disorder prevail until the disbanded troops fall insensibly under the dominion of the magistrate; how much more has France to fear, from the license and violence, of six hundred thousand ruffians, let loose in a country, where no other right is acknowledged, but the right of the strongest, and in which the civil part of the community are not in a condition, to resist any claims, which the military may urge, or to punish any insults which an unbridled soldiery may offer? Under circumstances no less imperious, than they are distressing,

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distressing, it is evident, that France could not accept of peace were it offered to her; and, as the dilemma into which she has precipitated herself cannot be a secret, either to your Grace, or to the Marquis of Lansdown, we are authorised to question the purity of your motives, for proposing a measure impracticable in its execution, and, which, if it had been attempted, would ultimately have deprived this country of her allies, and Holland, perhaps, of her independence: For what security could possibly be given, and (judging of the former by the past) what reason have we to suppose, that the Austrian Netherlands, and the Seven United Provinces, would not be over-run, the instant the Combined Powers laid down their arms?

With the certainty, almost of such an event taking place, whenever every check and restraint on France shall be removed, what would the Minister deserve, who would counsel the King to a step of such imminent risque; and what claim can those have to the confidence of the nation, who would engage Parliament to address the throne, for a purpose, which, if granted, would extend the evils, and prolong the calamities they affect to deplore? Shame upon a conduct, so scandalous and corrupt. It has not even the plea of ignorance to urge in excuse.

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Neither

Neither is it the hasty and intemperate decision of a benevolent mind, warm in its pursuits and attachments, and viewing peace in the abstract as a superlative good, passes over with the rapidity of thought, and the ardour of passion, all the various combination and relations, by which it becomes either a mischief, or a blessing to society.

I do not know, that there is any thing perverse in my understanding, or imperfect in my conception of things. I am sure there is nothing servile in my disposition, and, that I am not of a temper, to support the measures of any man, or set of men, without the fullest conviction of their justice and expediency. (But, to talk of peace to a nation, which, if it was disposed to hear it, is not in a condition to receive it, and dares not accept it, is the extreme of folly, or something worse, and can have no other object in view, but to impress the people in this country, with an idea, as pernicious, as it is ill founded; that the war is not only an aggression on our part, but wantonly continued against men "*cordially disposed to treat for peace, if the British cabinet was not pledged to restore the ancient despotism in France.*") As some pains, and an infinite degree of art have been employed, to render these opinions general, it may not be improper

to

to examine their relation with the fact, and leave those whom it was intended to deceive, to draw their conclusion. It has been already stated, in a late publication,* that the war was unavoidable, and a person (*qui est pour beaucoup dans la revolution*) has had the candour to own, that it was an aggression, not on the part of England, as Mr. Francis had the impertinence to assert in the House of Commons, on the 6th instant; but on that of the Executive Council, whom it is acknowledged, "*could only have been withheld from a declaration of hostilities, by a positive assurance, that no interruption would be given by this country, to the prosecution of the war against the Emperor; for as to the Court of Berlin, the Convention, acquainted as it was, with its perfidy and venality; made no scruple to declare, that the King of Prussia, who had deceived the Dutch, Brabançons, and Liegeois, neither excited uneasiness nor alarm, as they could always in case of necessity purchase the man who was ready to sell himself to the highest bidder.*" It is not my business to enquire what degree of affinity this censure has to truth; I shall only observe, that the best answer which his Prussian Majesty can give to a ca-

* Vide, "*the conduct of France towards Great Britain examined, with an Appendix and Notes, by Mr. Miles.*" Printed for G. Nicol, Pall-Mall.

lanny so atrocious, is a faithful discharge of his engagements with other powers. In return for this expected neutrality on the part of Great Britain, a neutrality no less dishonourable in itself, than it would have been dangerous in its consequences, a faint promise was given, not to attack the United Provinces, and that we might judge at once, of the truth and consistency of the French executive Council, the navigation of the Scheldt, which involved in it the ruin of Amsterdam, was declared to be free. The conventional army was also in possession of Liege, Brabant, and Flanders, while a banditti, calling themselves the States of Holland, were collecting a force on the Dutch frontiers, composed of the outcasts of all nations, by whom Maastricht was to be summoned, and in case of refusal, France, in the assumed character of an *Ally*, was to have been invited to reduce it.

The milder mode of stratagem, was, however preferred; a passage was requested in form, for the troops of the French Republic, and as a proof of the *pacific temper* with which the demand was made, and of the *good faith* with which the conditions would have been kept; preparations were made for bombarding the town into a compliance, the instant permission was denied.

Such

Such instances of an *amicable* disposition, very frequently occurred, and my correspondent has very candidly confessed, *que les hostilités sout-
des et cachées contre l'Angleterre n'étaient pas moins
actives et réelles qu'une provocation ouverte.*"

I will not remind your Grace of the efforts of the French Emisseries to excite insurrections in the kingdom, nor of the several decrees of the National Convention, which, anticipating these insurrections offered succour and fraternity to those, who would erect the standard of revolt, against monarchy and nobility.

These facts are of such general notoriety, and so fully established, that it would be impertinent to repeat them. (My object is merely to convince you, that, as the aggression was not on the part of Great Britain, and as France in her present lamentable situation, and under the pressure of multiplied embarrassments, can neither offer nor accept of peace, the motion of Lord Lansdowne was premature, and more likely to produce mischief than good, by misleading the public mind in both nations.) Well disposed, but half informed men in this country, would naturally suppose peace to be within the easy reach of ministers, when a motion to that effect was made in Parliament by a peer, supposed to have the best intelligence of any man in Europe, and who has filled the highest department in the

the state. The same error, but to a much greater extent, was no less likely to prevail in France, from the partizans of the noble Lord having endeavoured to promulgate an opinion in *that* country, that "*he possesses the entire confidence of the people in this, and that on the question in favour of an immediate peace, his Lordship and the bulk of the English nation, have but one opinion.*" In order the more effectually to bring the Parliament and Ministers into discredit in France, every expedient has been tried to degrade the one, and to excite a clamour against the other, with a view, that whenever the season of negotiation arrives, the "*dismissal of the latter should be insisted upon as preliminary to all treaty.*"*

I will

* The private letters from this country, to certain people in Paris, dated last December, announced, that "*the Minister deferred meeting of Parliament, until he had secured a majority disposed to comply with whatever was prescribed to them.*" An attempt has also been made to seduce the French into an engagement, "*not to treat for peace with Mr. Pitt,*" as if the interests of a great nation were to be interrupted by an attention to *names* instead of *things*. I felt some degree of mortification, in reading the letter which related these dishonourable proceedings, and in publishing the extract, I indulge the hope, that in the course of circulation, it may possibly come round, to the party with whom it originated, and shame them out of a conduct, no less derogatory to the character of an Englishman, than it is pitiful and indecent. The letter which

I will not comment on such unfair practices, but the pride of the nation is concerned in vindicating the just prerogatives of the British crown,

which I received, is dated the 27th ult. and while it exposes the unfair conduct of an opposition, drawn off, as it were, to the Lees, it proves that the sad remnant of what was once respectable, enjoy as little credit in France as in England; and that the National Convention knows precisely to what extent these gentlemen are entitled to its esteem and confidence.

“ Ne vous trompez pas, mon cher ami, nous recevons de tems en tems des details assez exactes de l'Angleterre, et voici ce qu'on nous en a mandé il y a à peu près un mois.” “ On a marché de prorogation en prorogation, car il faut plus que jamais que Mr. Pitt soit sûr de son fait, avant de convoquer le Parlement; une complaisante majorité va donc faire tout ce qu'on lui prescrira. Nous ne sommes pas fâchés d'apprendre que des reproches se levent en France de toutes parts contre notre Ministère; nous voyons avec plaisir que si l'on venu la paix l'idée seule de traiter avec Mr. Pitt fera tout echouer, conséquemment le parti qui vous est devoué succédera au Ministère.”

“ N'est ce pas assez plaisant que tandis que votre Parlement et votre Ministère nous traitent de regicides, de Carmagnoles, et de sans culottes, l'autre parti nous temoigne de la considération et de l'amitié, mais grâce à nos malheurs, nous connaissons votre parti de l'opposition aussi bien que votre Ministère, et nous avons à peu près autant de confiance pour l'un que pour l'autre.”

Here is a discovery of foul play, which, considering the hazard with which it was attended, proves that the RISQUE was infinitely greater than the STAKE. That every effort, and every art which men, versed in all the chicanery of political intrigue can devise, should be employed to discredit Ministers in

crowd, and resisting every attempt that may be made by any foreign power, to dictate to an English sovereign, to what persons he shall confide the administration of his affairs.

As to the latter opinion, which has been propagated with so much industry, "*That it is the intention of the combined powers to restore the ancient Government in France,*" it cannot deserve any notice, until there is sufficient evidence of the fact,

in this country, in order to supplant them, may be easily imagined; but that faction should attempt to raise a clamour against Mr. Pitt in France, with a view to indispose that country against having any communication with him, at the very moment that they were pressing him to make offers, which they suspected would be spurned from motives of personal hatred, is a melancholy instance of the despicable shifts, and unpardonable meanesses, to which men will descend to gratify their resentment or ambition.

It is to be hoped, that the nation will attend to this fact, and be on its guard against similar deceptions in future. If the mischievous motions of Lord Lansdowne had been adopted, and the French had declined treating with Mr. Pitt, as they were requested to do, his removal would have followed of course, and his adversaries would have had the satisfaction of having jockeyed Ministry and Parliament most completely, and in a manner as ingenious, as it was prefligate and unprecedented.

Happily the motions were rejected, and what is of no less importance at this moment, the efforts to precipitate the Convention into a resolution, not to treat for peace with the present Ministry, have served only to expose the guilt and duplicity of those who had recourse to them,

and

and until such a design is avowed or made evident, from corroborating circumstances, it is unnecessary to comment on the folly and iniquity, attributed to such an intention.

It is unworthy of your understanding, or of mine, my Lord, to combat phantoms, and much more so to create them. I shall only observe, that the nation that undertakes to restore monarchy in France, as it was, previous to the Revolution in 1789, must have resolved to play double or quits, and for engaging in an enterprize so extravagant, so full of peril, and certainly as infamous as it would be hazardous, deserves to lose the game.

The object of the present contest, as I understand it, is merely to restore order in a country, whose maxims have endangered the peace of other nations, and until this desirable object is obtained, I do not see how we can, consistently with our own internal safety, sheath the sword which we have been forced to draw in defence, not of a vain point of honour, but of our acres, of our fire sides,—of our wives and of our children.—Whenever these can be assured to us,—whenever the foul and sanguinary project is relinquished, of seducing a numerous and virtuous peasantry to assassinate their landlords, and usurp their property; whenever the wicked expedient is renounced, of compelling our manufacturers

facturers and husbandmen to abandon peaceful agriculture, and forsake wholesome reputable labour, for carnage, dissipation, and every species of military licence, and whenever the country can repose in confidence on the faith of the new Government in France, there is not a man, I am persuaded, either in or out of Parliament, that would not cheerfully vote for closing the contest.

But circumstanced as we are, and contending, not to support the pride and pageantry of Kings, but for interests infinitely dearer to us than ~~that~~, and without which existence, would be ~~lost~~, not a blessing, we must fight it out — We have no alternative, and the combat must last, my Lord, while France continues iniquitous and insane, or until she is incapacitated for farther hostility. Until one of these events happen, we cannot, dare not, talk of peace. The French themselves avow, “ *that such a measure is at present premature, by being incompatible with their internal safety,*” and would it be less so with that of ours, my Lord?

The French see to the full as much danger in the return of peace, as your Grace can possibly apprehend from the continuation of the war; and under these circumstances, forced as we have been into the contest, and compelled to persevere in it, not only in self-defence, but
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from the inability of our enemies to conclude it, what remedy have we but in our strength? What hope but in our exertions, and our fortitude?

Having premised thus much to your Grace, I will not dissemble, that the offer of peace on such conditions as the Minister could listen to, and the nation receive in safety, would afford much consolation to a mind not apt to despond. But really, my Lord, with all my rooted aversion to war, and with all my anxiety for that calm, so necessary to the safety and felicity of mankind; I do not see any immediate prospect of so desirable an event, but on the contrary, a succession of obstacles, arising from a succession of blunders and of crimes, and which are likely to continue, until debility incapacitates both parties for further hostility, or until one of them falls in the contest. (*“ C'est une guerre à mort, & dans un combat à mort il faut vaincre ou mourir.”*)

Such was the language of M. Le Brun*, and of some other members of the French Executive

Quint. * Le Brun, Secretary of State for foreign affairs. This man has since been dragged to the scaffold, and his dawn of existence, contrasted with its meridian and setting, proves how very much human life is the sport of contingencies; how it depends upon accident, and how very circumscribed are

tive Council, in November 1792, who, intoxicated with the victories of Dumourier, and as ignorant of our resources, as they appeared to have been too confident in their own, prepared for hostilities in the full persuasion, that if they could not *bully* us, they could *crush* us.) Pressed as we were, and exposed to all that violence could offer, or chicane devise: in danger of being ultimately beggared, massacred, and what is worse, dishonoured, if we submitted to the harsh and insolent conditions which were exacted, and certain, at least, of escaping the infamy of the last, if we resisted: your Grace must confess, that the alternative of war, was better than that of peace, even if it had been allowed us, but the precipitancy of the Convention, put the latter entirely out of the question, and as we could not decline the combat, must we not abide by the consequences? Surely, my Lord, you would not remind us of your affinity to James the Second,

are the views and capacities of mankind! This miserable but unlamented victim, had been a common soldier; he afterwards obtained his discharge, and became an adventurer, but being of mean origin, and unprotected by a court ever ready to patronize crimes from which it derived an advantage, he was compelled to fly from his country. He returned to it after the revolution, with a legion of other proscribed vagabonds; became Secretary of State, and was executed. Valoit-il la peine Monseigneur d'être Ministre d'état pour perir le moment après sur l'échafaud?

by

by counselling us to found a retreat before the battle commences? Your noble colleague, who has long been a trader in bad omens, discovers nothing but ruin in the contest, and pronounces the nation to be undone, if she fires another gun in the quarrel.

He said exactly the same thing of the American war, yet his country spurning the *death warrant* of his Lordship, seems to have acquired a new lease of strong political life, and certainly enjoys better health than ever*.

With a view to frighten us into peace, the noble Marquis has assured us, that the last campaign was **DISASTROUS!** *Disastrous*, my Lord! does conquest mean defeat, in the vocabulary of his Lordship, or have the herd of literary sycophants, whom his mistaken bounty feeds, formed a new dictionary, in which every word has a sense, assigned to it contrary to its general and established import? If not; on what ground can either your Grace, or his Lordship, call the last campaign **DISASTROUS?** Is the recovery of Holland from the dominion of France, a **DISASTER?** Can the repressing of her armies within her northern frontiers, breaking the spirit of those armies, and reducing some of her frontier towns, be called **DISASTROUS?**—Are the final extinction of the French power, and

* Vide Chalmers' Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great-Britain—Printed for Stockdale, Piccadilly.

the total destruction of all the French settlements in Asia, with an arsenal consumed, her navy crippled, and her commerce ruined, DISASTERS? If so, your Grace may add to this distressing catalogue of misfortunes, (the entire expulsion of the French from the Newfoundland fishery, and the acquisition of the most valuable part of St. Domingue * to the British empire.— Such are the fruits derived from our exertions in the last campaign, and will your Grace presume to qualify as DISASTROUS, what evidently leads not only to the extension of the power and commerce of your country, but to her security, as well as prosperity?)

It is not very candid to bewail as unfortunate, and to represent as calamitous in the extreme, what, if they had been acquired under his Lordship's administration, would have been trumpeted forth by scribblers of all sizes, as the suggestions of wisdom, and the heroic achievements of valour. This conduct in his Lordship, betrays a partiality for his own judgment, and opinion of his own parts, which happily

* The annual exports from the French part of this Island, on an average for the last three years, previous to the Revolution, amounted to upwards of seven millions sterling; all that wealth will now flow into this country, and what is of no less consequence to its grandeur and opulence, it will open a market of considerable extent for every description of British manufactures.

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for the public interest, are not current in the nation, nor very likely to obtain any credit, beyond the confines of Berkley Square. That the conduct of the war should be arraigned by those who deny the necessity, or dispute the expediency of it, is very natural. It is reasonable to suppose, that they will avail themselves of every opportunity, to depreciate a measure, which they condemn, and endeavour to prove its fallacy and absurdity, by the means which are taken to ensure its success. The matter of surprise is, that men qualified to give an opinion on a question of such moment, should have a doubt as to the justice of resisting unprovoked aggression, and the necessity of supporting the Minister with ZEAL and UNANIMITY, in repelling an injury, not of a partial or personal nature, but of vast and general extent, in which the comfort and security of the peasant, is no less endangered than those of the prince. It is the cottage, as well as the palace that is threatened ; and in a cause so universal, which includes all descriptions, ranks, professions, and sexes, in which the property of every individual, with all his natural and acquired rights, are brought into hazard and menaced with ruin, it would argue the extreme of cowardice, not to defend them with an ardour proportioned to their value, and still more atrocious would it be to relinquish them without

without a struggle. That Ministers may have erred in some particular instances as to the general policy which this country ought to observe towards the other powers of Europe, may be very possible, and it is equally possible that the equity and moderation of princes, may be to the full as hypothetical, as the rectitude of those who oppose them, but the virtue of either or both, being equivocal, is no reason why the war into which this country has been hurried by the madness and crimes of France, should not be prosecuted with vigour, and supported with fortitude. It is not my intention to palliate blunders, or to flatter royalty. The interests of society would be betrayed, not supported by such concessions, and the stake at issue is of more value in my estimation, than the favour of Ministers, or the smiles of the Court. But on this occasion no blame can be imputed to the one, no danger can arise from defending the other. The former have an arduous and difficult task to execute. Is it fair; Is it liberal; I will ask if it is patriotic? Nay, my Lord, is it either decent or honest in your Grace, to force them, as it were from the great objects that occupy their attention; from the perilous duties in which they are engaged, to the unimportant considerations of propositions fallacious in the extreme, dangerous to discuss, and which, if adopted, would

would be productive of much serious mischief, not only to Government, but to every individual in the empire? It is not very easy to penetrate into the minds of men and discover the secret springs of action; nor is it altogether fair to interpret them at random. I know of no other method to judge of their purity or baseness, than by that reputation which every man at a certain time of life has established in the opinion of the world, or, by the personal interest which he may have in what he recommends to others, or undertakes to perform himself.

Try the motion of your noble colleague, my Lord, by this criterion, and trust me there will be but one opinion on the subject throughout the empire!

He has proposed peace in the pleasing hope, no doubt, of being called upon to make it, and not without the no less pleasing hope perhaps of making as much by it as report says he did make by the last.—“*Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the children of God.*”* But his Lordship’s ambition is not of that description:—He is more modest, and satisfied with reward upon earth, is willing to take his chance for the blessing hereafter with the rest of mankind. That the situa-

* See Matthew, chap. v. verse 9.

tion of Europe is calamitous and precarious cannot be disputed; nor am I without very serious apprehensions for the issue of this tremendous conflict; but the courage of mankind is never so well tried as by events; and States as well as individuals are often indebted to great and extraordinary occasions for a knowledge of their force and resources. It is the characteristic of timid minds to shrink from contest the moment it is offered—It is the curse of bold ones to rush into hazard, and trust to accident for a favourable issue; but the mind conscious of its rectitude, and collected within itself, meets with becoming fortitude the evils it cannot avoid, and trusting to its vigour and resources, is alike prepared for triumph or submission. The perils which surround us are unquestionably of a nature to excite alarm, but not to justify despondency: For who, my Lord, will have the effrontery to assert that our resources are not equal to the occasion? Who would have the baseness to surrender the independence, the honour, and dignity of the nation to an assemblage of ruffians stained with the blood of their wretched countrymen, and who are only held together by an excitement to fresh crimes, or the dread of punishment for the past?—Is it to such merciless beings, for you cannot call them human, that your Grace would sacrifice the pride and interests

interests of Great Britain? Is it before such men, my Lord, that you would wish to see the unsubdued spirit of your country fall prostrate? Is it from such men that you would meanly implore that peace as a favour, which they may soon be compelled to solicit from your mercy? Is it from France, dishonoured, bankrupt, and undone;—is it from France desolated and disgraced by crime, where even MURDER, pausing in blood, stands aghast at the ruin she has made! that Britain on her knees is to receive as a boon what she holds from Heaven as a right? Fie upon it, my Lord! hold better doctrines;—doctrines better suited to our virtues and our courage; and cease to remind us of your origin!

Had France confined her efforts to the regeneration of herself, without attempting to regenerate other nations—had she not employed every effort to subvert our Constitution, by presenting to us, not for choice, but acceptance, new laws, and new modes of thinking—had she never promulgated in other States the doctrines of equality in their worst and most perverted sense, she would have found FRIENDS, not *enemies*, in Englishmen; but when it was discovered that the opinions which she introduced among us for the purpose of corrupting and dividing us, were adopted by the dissolute and penniless, and that

these men, atrocious and despised as they were in their own country, were received, flattered and caressed by the Convention and Executive Council, all sober men became alarmed, and beheld in France an insidious and dangerous foe; every man brought home to his own breast the unpardonable horrors committed in Paris—he beheld his own family butchered in cold blood, and without provocation, ignorant of his own fate, and not assured of surviving them an instant, such were the sentiments excited by her conduct; and who, let me ask your Grace, could possibly preserve any esteem for a people so void of humanity, and whose aim was to involve us in all the infamy and all the complicated miseries with which they are afflicted and dishonoured? Who would wish to correct the errors and vices in our Constitution and Government at such a terrible expence of public and of private ruin? Who would prefer the ruthless and deplorable anarchy in which France is involved, the duration of which is likely to extend beyond the present generation, to a state of order and security? Weigh and combine all these circumstances, my Lord, well together, and you will agree with me, that our anger was not without cause, nor our alarm without foundation.

“ *While*

["*While we behold minorities contending not for principles, but power; and disputing, not for the Constitution, but for Government,*" we should neither be surprised at the obstinacy with which they assert that the French had no design against the internal peace of this country, nor the perseverance with which they maintain the necessity of an immediate reform in Parliament. The French, more modest, plead guilty to the charge—avow their intentions, and confident of success, declare, "*that we are in a state of insurrection,*"—This was announced in form to the National Convention by the President in November 1792; and that all France might partake of the triumph, the pleasing intelligence was not only printed, and stuck up in every street in Paris, but transmitted by order of the Legislature, to all the Departments.

"*Les Anglais, ces fiers insulaires, nos frères aînés, en liberté, vont à notre exemple renverser leur Trône, chasser leur Roi, et porter la liberté jusqu'au fond de l'Asie!*—(The English—Those proud Islanders, our elder brothers in liberty, are preparing to follow our example; to destroy the Throne; banish their King, and extend the blessings of freedom to the extremity of Asia.)—Such was the declaration of Monsieur Gregoire;) but the voluntary confession, or rather the impudent boast of the criminal,

criminal, it seems, is not sufficient evidence of his guilt; and the Gentlemen in Opposition, availing themselves of the latitude (amounting almost to impunity) which our laws afford to those who are *dexterous* as well as SEDITIOUS, clamour for *legal proofs*, which their associates they know were careful should never be recorded against them in a court of justice; while, presuming on this deficiency of *legal proof*, they deny the fact *in toto*, and give the lie not only to the declarations of the French, but to the evidence of their own senses, and, on some occasions, to that of their own conduct.

It is not within the narrow limits of a letter that the question of Reform can be properly discussed, nor was it in my contemplation even to touch upon a subject so delicate and important, and on which it would be presumptuous in an individual to decide, when such a variety of opinions are entertained, not only as to the necessity of the measure, but as to the probability of any practical good resulting from it.—No specific plan of Reform has yet been regularly offered to our notice, but the acknowledged fact, that, *there are scarce two men in the kingdom agreed as to the extent of the Reform, or as to the mode of carrying it into execution*, is a circumstance that will ever make good men PAUSE!—It is certainly a circumstance that commands

commands the most serious attention of all who do not aim at procuring a complete dissolution of the Government, and to those who are so disposed; to those who wish the English Constitution to be subverted, I would say—*The Throne may be destroyed; the House of Peers abolished; and the whole system of representation undergo an entire change; the idle, the indigent, and profligate, may be qualified to vote, and even require the right to legislate for you, but will your liberties by such a change be extended? Will your persons and your property be rendered more secure? Or will your conditions in society be improved in any one instance?*

The man who would answer without hesitation any one of these questions in the affirmative, and expect to be believed, should present his credentials from Heaven as a Prophet, for he would not speak like a Legislator or a Philosopher;—such a man would evidently appear to have read very little, and to have reasoned still less on the nature of civil Government; history and experience on such a man could certainly have made no impression; and in all probability it would appear on enquiry, that he had passed through life without any good purpose either to himself or others.—But to return; in all former contests, we could penetrate with ease through distant events, and look forward

forward with a degree of certainty to a given time for their termination; an island in Asia or America was perhaps the boundary of our respective pretensions, and that obtained or relinquished, an end was put to hostilities; but in this direful conflict, every prospect and every hope of peace is rudely banished from the mind; and the venal and profligate BARRERE, (who received a bribe in 1790 from the very Sovereign whom he sentenced to the scaffold, for the favourable report on the Royal Domains) has the audacity to declare, that "*France will never listen to offers of Peace until every Government in Europe is destroyed.*" I do not believe that any nation has yet so degraded herself as to have solicited peace; and to talk of rejecting proposals that have not been, and are not likely to be made, partakes of the vanity which distinguished that country under the old system. But the folly and bombast of this egotism is lost in the atrocity and horrible principle on which the war is avowedly to be prosecuted. It is to be a war of extermination—it is not against a too extensive territory—or against a potent and dangerous neighbour; nor is it for the purpose of extending their frontier that the French wage war; neither is the war to be partial; it is not to be directed against those States who immediately surround France, but against all Europe, against all

all Mankind; it is to be **UNIVERSAL**, and pursued until all the existing Governments in Europe are subverted, its innumerable inhabitants set at variance with each other, and all ties of blood and friendship dissolved between them. With such principles, what honest man will have the effrontery to espouse her cause? With objects so enormous and frightful in view, what nation would be so wanting to itself as to associate with her? Can she ever seriously hope for peace after such a declaration? a declaration no less impious than absurd, and which would merit ridicule and contempt, but for the preparations which are making to carry it into effect?

The French boast of having a powerful party in the British Parliament. They entertain the same opinion of the other States with whom they are at issue, and this insatiation must be destroyed.

Remember, my Lord, that the French having insisted on the universal subversion of Monarchy, it is impossible to treat with them while they have such an object in view. When they have recovered from their present delirium, when they have relinquished all those wild and criminal projects by which, as a measure of self-defence, France has armed all Europe against her, the sword may be sheathed, but while nothing short of our absolute ruin will
content

content her, the pride of Britain will, I hope, expend in the defence of her rights and possessions, her last man and her last farthing. France has made it a question, Whether we shall exist as a nation or not? She has forced us to meet her on that ground, and our honour as well as our interest will not allow us to abandon it. — The very justice of our cause inspires us with confidence, while the approved valour of our troops is an assurance of success. Let our exertions be proportioned to the magnitude of the danger, and the issue will be glorious for our country and humanity.

UNITED AT HOME, we have nothing to fear from abroad; and this is the language which as a Peer of Parliament, as a Magistrate, and above all, as an ENGLISHMAN, it is your duty to hold. — This country, my Lord, has had many serious and severe trials, yet she has hitherto triumphed over all difficulties. She was harassed for more than half a century by the impudent claims of a family which she had sent into exile for dishonouring the Throne to which she had raised them; and it is owing to the circumstance of your birth, my Lord, that you do not partake of their misfortunes.

The courage of this country has frequently been called forth, and on occasions where it was expected she would have fallen in the struggle,

gle, but her magnanimity equal to every emergency, enabled her to resist every attack, and to rise from under the pressure of accumulated distress with redoubled vigour. If engaged as we have seen her in a civil war, and in a state of hostility, secret and avowed, with nearly the whole of Europe, she was enabled to resist her potent and numerous foes ;

If by the wisdom of her councils, the vigour of her operations, and the gallantry of her arms, she triumphed over her enemies in all quarters of the world, why should she despair with all Europe almost in alliance with her? With all Europe combating by her side, and united to her by the common danger with which they are threatened, with every moral certainty of a successful issue to the contest, why should she despond ; why should she with victory in view anticipate defeat, and meanly solicit peace of a people who would reject the suit with an haughtiness equal to the baseness with which it was solicited ?

The league formed against her in the American war, threatened much more serious mischief to her commerce and dominion than the present contest.

India was in a manner wrested from her sway, she was totally excluded from the Mediterranean, several of her sugar islands had been taken,

taken, and a line of coast (once in her possession, and extending from the Gulph of Florida to the Bay of Fundy) was in declared rebellion, yet, notwithstanding these unexampled difficulties, notwithstanding these numerous losses, and the powerful confederacy resolved to expel her from Asia and America, notwithstanding every effort to extinguish her influence on shore and her empire at sea, her flag still flies triumphant in the four quarters of the world! The British name is still held in reverence; and, what ought to be as flattering to the pride as it is honourable to the character of an Englishman, his protection has been solicited, and his succour is deemed a security against the inroads of vagabonds let loose from all restraint, and armed with principles as diabolical in their nature, as they have been found mischievous and ruinous in their application.

These are facts which cannot be controverted; and to hold out a miserable catalogue of evils as peculiar to this war, which we know to be common to all wars, and to excite ill founded alarms in the minds of your fellow citizens, is to side, my Lord, with malice against candour, and with ignorance against experience, it is the foul and unnatural junction of vice and virtue, which for a variety of reasons you should disclaim

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claim without hesitation, and abandon without regret.

Your rank in society demands the sacrifice, (if you should unhappily deem it such) and your country expects it as an atonement for the errors of an administration, to the account of which much of that democratic spirit which rages at present may be placed.

There is nothing more criminal, my Lord, than to excite ill founded alarms in times of public danger; and it is to the full as idle to give implicit faith to every tale which malice or ignorance may propagate. It is the misfortune of France to be still under an infatuation as fatal to her own interests as it is mischievous to those of other nations. (She still looks forward in confidence to riot and revolt in this country, and firmly believes that the instant an at-

(" La Cour de Londres, qui craint la guerre semble l'ennemie de la paix—elle affecte un contenance qui en impose au peuple Anglais, mais si vous vous montrez rigides, si vous vous constituez l'état, et si le poids de votre politique écrase tous ses partisans, & comprime ses combinaisons, le lendemain du jour où elle aura paru le plus éloignée de la paix, la plus confiante dans sa force et la plus superbe dans ses prétentions, elle proposera la paix."

*Report from the Committee of Public Safety at
Paris to the National Convention, 27 Feb.*

1794.

tack

tack is made from **WITHOUT**, the Government will be assailed and subverted **WITHIN**. It is this vain, this delusive idea, that stimulates her to menace us with an invasion ; and counting upon a general defection from one end of the kingdom to the other, it is possible she may be seduced to make the attempt, and hazard a descent. Her sole hope of success is in this promised defection—Defection did I call it? Say rather, a mean and dastardly renunciation of our national character; a base and perfidious desertion of our country, of all that is venerable and dear in the estimation of mankind, and of which even France would have believed us incapable but for the pains which have been taken to misrepresent every action of the British Government, and to delude an intoxicated people into a belief that the Parliament and the nation are on the eve of a violent and irreparable rupture *. It is this libel on the English Empire that

we

“ On a tué Marat & banni Margarot dont on a confisqué les biens—tous les tyrans en ont marqué leur joie!—Que Margarot revienne de Botani Bay! qu'il ne perisse point! et que sa destinée soit plus forte que le Gouvernement qui l'opprime!

“ Les Révolutions commencent toujours par d'ILLUSTRES MALHEUREUX.—Que la Providence accompagne Margerot à Botani Bay! QU'UN DECRET DU PEUPLE AFFRANCHISSE

(79)

we are called upon to refute and punish. It is this audacious, this ill-founded calumny against the British nation, that should animate us to give the lie at once to the assertions and hopes of our enemies. We owe it to ourselves to convince them, that however we may cavil at home, we will ever be united and faithful to each other against all attempts to divide us from abroad; and that more insulted by the suspicions entertained of our loyalty, than alarmed at the danger with which we are threatened, we are resolved to prosecute the war to a just and honourable conclusion. Such, my Lord, is the language we should hold—such the conduct it is incumbent on us to pursue; and whatever

FRANCHI, LE RAPPELLE DU FOND DES DESERTS OU VENGE
SA MEMOIRE."

Ibid.

These are not the loose, unconnected sentiments of private individuals, my Lord, of no authority in France, but the declaration of men entrusted with the whole Government of the country, and who address this language in their official and ministerial capacities to the French Legislature and to the World.—Is it to those that your Grace would propose peace? Is it from those you could hope to receive it? and do you believe that they would grant it, unless one of his Majesty's ships was first dispatched to Botany Bay to bring back the "ILLUSTRIOUS EXILE," (as they call him) from the deserts of New Holland?

W A

may

may be the event of the struggle, whether it should be prosperous, as we are authorized to expect, or whether it should, contrary to reason, justice, and appearances, prove unfortunate, we shall have the satisfaction to reflect, either in victory or in defeat, that we have acquitted ourselves like BRITONS!

AN

Exculpation of M. de la Fayette

FROM

The Charges unjustly advanced, and incorrectly ascribed
against him by

MR. BURKE,

In the House of Commons, on the 17th March, 1794.

IT is not very decent, and certainly not very
consistent in Mr. Burke, who has opposed
almost every measure of the Crown through life
with an asperity peculiar to himself, to come
forward and pretend to more loyalty than the
rest of his majesty's subjects. We should how-
ever pardon the vanity of this singular preten-
sion in a man anxious to atone perhaps for the
acrimony with which he treated his Sovereign
in his illness, if our anger was not provoked by
the arrogance with which it is accompanied, of
dictating to us in matters merely speculative,
and laying down rules for our allegiance and
G submission,

submission, with a bull of excommunication against those who differ in opinion with this "*Sir Oracle*" of modern times. Mr. Burke, not satisfied with pretending to be more dutiful to the King, and more affectionate to his person, would assume the right to regulate our faith and square our obedience by a measurement of his own fabrication, founded on the principles and exploded maxims of Archbishop Laud, Sir Robert Filmer, and other gentlemen of that description, who having vegetated without respect, perished unlamented in the last century.

It has been deemed a symptom of disaffection to his Majesty and to his Government, to dissent from Mr. Burke in what he advances relative to the revolution that happened in this country in 1688, as well as to what concerns the less fortunate, but not less merited one which took place in France in 1789. The principles on which the former was accomplished have been wilfully misrepresented, for I will not pay so ill a compliment to the talents and reading of Mr. Burke, as to attribute the novel doctrines he has laid down, respecting the former, to ignorance or incapacity;—and I feel it a grievance as well as an insult, that the loyalty of Gentlemen in this country should be arraigned, for maintaining that a revolution in France had become a necessary and laudable measure.

The

(83)

(The emancipation of an entire people from the arbitrary dominion of an individual, and the vexatious oppressions which they endured from the pride, avarice, and despotism of a few, will ever afford matter of rational triumph to those whose minds are not debased by tyranny or deformed by prejudice; and on this ground it was that I rejoiced, in common with millions, when the Bastile fell. That the French have mistaken their road, and that they have fallen under an oppression infinitely more extensive, and more horrible than the one which good men, in all parts of the world, universally reprobated, proves indeed the extreme depravity and general profligacy of the country, but is surely no argument against the propriety or necessity of the revolution in itself, any more than that the scandalous and licentious manners of half the Bishops in France would invalidate the truth of the Christian religion.) I have no doubt that when Luther attempted to purge the church of its filth and iniquities; when he exposed the guilt and effrontery of degrading the Divinity into a Pedlar, and giving him a stall in every chapel and convent in Christendom to sell pardons for past and future crimes, but that a pampered and dissolute priesthood in those days found prostitute scribblers to justify the abuses he condemned, and to write against the

G 2 reformation

reformation which he urged, and which was certainly not the less necessary for having been proposed by a man whose morals were perhaps to the full as corrupt as those whom he condemned.

As Mr. Burke has endeavoured to throw an odium on those who rejoice in the subversion of the ancient Government in France, and to draw inferences from thence of disaffection to the Constitution, it is not extraordinary that he should also consider it as criminal to express any esteem for those who were instrumental in effecting a revolution which was meant to root out long established evils, and substitute in their place wholesome, provident laws, which binding alike upon all, should give protection and support to all.

Mr. Burke seems disposed to carry this prejudice, to say nothing worse of it, still farther.—
(It is not only an argument, in his opinion, of disaffection to the English Government to approve of the French revolution, and of the motives of those who effected it, but even to express sentiments of compassion for such as have fallen victims to an intemperate zeal, or to a want of foresight.)

Among the proscribed we find the name of a man, who is not only accused of being accessory to the assassination of private individuals, but

but of having connived at the departure of the Royal Family, for the execrable purpose of obtaining popularity with the rabble, by bringing them back prisoners to Paris. It is almost fair to suppose that those who can attribute such foul and atrocious intentions to another, without proofs of probability, are capable of executing them. The best answer that can be given to the assertions of Mr. Burke in the House of Commons on the 17th inst. is to publish the speech of M. de la Fayette at the moment that Foulon was massacred: It is recorded in a journal called *L'AMI DU ROI*, par Mons. Montjoye; the author of which will certainly not be suspected of having any predilection either for the Revolution or for those who were concerned in it.

If M. de la Fayette could possibly have saved the lives of Foulon * and Berthier, the author
of

* This man fell a victim to his bad character—to that general prejudice which is adopted very often without cause, and as often continued from the indolence of those who imitate it, not permitting them to enquire into the truth or falsehoods of the reports and opinions they hear. This unfortunate man was the most abhorred of any in France, and in such detestation was his very name held, that two of his nephews against whom there was no reproach, were refused admission into a club in Paris in the year 1787, by having
eighty

of this Journal, devoted to the Court and the Aristocratic party in France, would certainly have reproached, with his accustomed severity, the criminal negligence of M. de la Fayette, against whom he was always ready to publish whatever was likely to injure his character and discredit him with the people. When a man so decidedly against him is perfectly silent on a subject, which could not have escaped his knowledge (for he was on the spot) I do not think that the slander of Mr. Burke can be more effectually refuted than by the publication of the harangue recorded (by this friend of the King) without comment or contradiction, nor can Mr. Burke with any decency question the veracity of one of his own witnesses.—As I have this va-

eighty black balls in an hundred against them, from the circumstance of their being called Foulon.

Incensed at the brutal violence of the mob whom he could not restrain, and incensed at a murder which reflected disgrace on his country, M. de la Fayette resigned his command, and it was with difficulty that he was prevailed upon to resume it. This circumstance alone proves that he was sensibly affected by the massacre of this unfortunate victim, while his conduct previous to the melancholy event proves that he not only condemned the violence, but exerted every effort in his power to prevent it.—His having been accessory therefore to the murder, or having had it in his power to prevent it, are assertions which Mr. Burke upon reflection must certainly blush to have advanced,

luable

luable collection in my possession, I shall publish the discourse in the language in which it was delivered, that those who may have been equally fortunate in preserving the productions of the same author from the general wreck, may compare them, and bear evidence to the fidelity of my quotation—The World I trust will acknowledge the justice of my conclusions.

THE ADDRESS OF

M. DE LA FAYETTE *to the* PEOPLE,

On the 22d July, 1789.

*Extrait du Journal du P Ami du Roi du Mois de
Juillet, 1789.*

“ JE suis connu de vous tous, vous m’avez nommé votre General, et ce choix qui m’honore, m’impose le devoir de vous parler avec la liberté et la franchise qui font la base de mon caractère.—Vous voulez faire perir sans jugement cet homme qui est devant vous, c’est une injustice qui vous deshonne qui me flétriroit moi-même, qui flétriroit tous les efforts que j’ai fait en faveur de la liberté—si j’étois assez
foible

faible pour la permettre: je ne la permettrai pas cette injustice, mais je suis bien loin de prétendre le sauver s'il est coupable, je veux seulement que cet homme soit conduit en prison pour être jugé par le tribunal que la nation indiquera. — Je veux que la loi soit respectée, la loi sans laquelle il n'est point de liberté, la loi sans le secours de laquelle je n'aurois point contribué à la révolution du Nouveau Monde, et sans laquelle je ne contribuerai pas à la révolution qui se prépare; ce que je dis en faveur des formes et de loi, ne doit pas être interprété en faveur de Monf. Foulon, je ne suis pas suspect à son égard, et peut-être même la manière dont je me suis exprimé sur son compte dans plusieurs occasions suffiroit seule pour m'interdire le droit de le juger, mais plus il est présumé coupable plus il est important que les formes s'observent à son égard, soit pour rendre sa punition plus éclatante, soit pour l'interroger légalement et voir de sa bouche la révélation de ses complices, ainsi je vais donner ordre qu'il soit conduit à l'Abbaye."

TRANSLATION

TRANSLATION OF THE PRECEDING LETTER.

"I am known to you all—You have nominated me to be your General; but the choice which you have made, and which confers on me the highest honour, also imposes on me as a duty the necessity of speaking to you with that sincerity and frankness which constitute my character.—You seem resolved to destroy the man without trial who is prostrate before you and at your mercy;—but such violence would be as dishonourable to yourselves, as to the cause of liberty in which we are embarked; and tho' I cannot suffer so flagrant an act of injustice to be committed, I am very far from wishing to preserve guilt from punishment.—I only request that you will permit this man to be conducted to prison, that he may be tried agreeable to the laws, and by such a tribunal as the nation may appoint.—All I desire is that the law may be respected, without which it is impossible that LIBERTY can exist, or that I can contribute to the revolution which is preparing in this country, as I did to that which has been accomplished in America.—What I have advanced in favour of the laws, and of the forms of justice, will not, I trust, be interpreted as arguments

ments in favour of M. Foulon.—I certainly shall not be suspected of any partiality towards him; and the very manner in which I have, on a variety of occasions, delivered my opinion of him, deprives me of the right of judging him. But the more culpable he appears to be, remember the more incumbent it is on you to respect the laws by which alone he can be condemned.—Whether it is your wish that his punishment should be exemplary, or whether it is merely your intention to interrogate him, for the purpose of discovering his accomplices, it is necessary that he should be preserved from outrage; I shall therefore give directions that he be conducted to the Abbey *.”

* The judicious reader will easily conceive the extreme difficulty of even obtaining an hearing from an immense mob under the influence of rage, and that the only possible chance of rescuing an individual from the fury of their resentment was by the expedient of conducting him to prison.

The second charge which has been urged against M. de la Fayette, not in the full and direct manner in which he was accused as an accomplice in the murder of Foulon, but by
 2 whisper

whispers as industriously circulated as they were maliciously designed, can be refuted more positively, and perhaps more satisfactorily than the first, by an appeal to facts and to authentic documents. The improbability of the story is in itself a proof of its falsehood; nor can it be credited, that if M. de la Fayette had been privy to the departure of the King for the purposes so inhumanly attributed to him, that he would have allowed his Majesty to have travelled within 15 miles of the frontier before he had him stopped, and especially as Varennes was the last town through which the hapless Monarch had to pass in which he had any danger to apprehend.

If La Fayette had played so foul, so infamous a part, one of his aid du camps, and not the post-master Drouet,* who alone derived eclat from the arrest, would have stopped the Royal Travellers. But without entering into all the detail of argument and variety of reasons that may be urged in favour of M. de la Fayette, his claims to innocence will be established on the declaration of the Queen alone, whose evidence, under the distressing, the awful circum-

* This man, on his examination before the National Assembly, never mentioned the name of M. de la Fayette, but gave as a reason for having the carriage stopped, that "*he thought he discovered the King in it.*"

stances

stances in which she found herself, commands respect and confidence.

She declared that "*Monsieur de la Fayette was ignorant of her departure.*" Her account of the manner in which she left Paris corroborates her assertion; and if the arrest of the King should be advanced as presumptive evidence that La Fayette was in the secret, the declaration attributed to the Marquis de Bouillé explains what was in the first moment considered as evidence of La Fayette's guilt.—M. de Bouillé declared, first, "*That the King left Paris TWENTY-FOUR hours later than the time agreed upon*; and that the detachments assembled for the purpose of escorting his Majesty, excited suspicions round the country.

2d. One of these detachments, composed of 50 hussars, and commanded by a son of the Marquis de Bouillé, was twenty-four hours without any kind of refreshment either for the men or their horses; and their having retreated to procure themselves refreshments, they could not get back in time to prevent the tumults and disorders of the people, assembled at first from motives of simple curiosity.

3d. It has also appeared I believe from the testimony of Count de Damas, that the garde de corps who preceded the carriage was three quarters of an hour in the streets of Varennes seeking for horses,

horses, being uninformed that the relay was to wait, and to be without the gates.

4. It is also well known, and from the same authority, that the King was stopped by one man only, and that he prevented the three gardes du corps, who were on the coach box, to extricate him from the danger, by dispatching this man.

5. The son of the Marquis de Bouillé, by much too young for an enterprize of such importance, would not venture to attack some unarmed men, who were collected together, and who, at the expiration of at least three hours, brought two pieces of cannon, which by the bye were not charged.—It is also worthy of remark, that M. de Bouillé had in the neighbourhood of Varennes an army of at least 50,000 men, and that, notwithstanding this force, he suffered the King to be seized and carried off.

Every well-informed mind knows that there is not more than 15 English miles from Varennes to the frontiers of France, and that in two hours his Majesty might have passed the French territory. Is it then probable, that if M. de la Fayette had been in the secret, that he would have deferred the seizure of his Majesty's person until he arrived on the spot, where it was a thousand to one that he could not have been stopped,
and

and where if he had not delayed his departure so long from the metropolis, there would have been a force sufficient to have protected him?— If there is any blame on this unfortunate occasion, it is not on M. de la Fayette, but on M. de Bouillé, that it ought to fall, who however may not deserve perhaps any other censure for the failure of the enterprize than what is due to imprudence and incapacity.

All that was done in consequence of this melancholy event was for the security of those who had any property in Paris, and whoever denies these well-known facts, and pronounces M. de la Fayette guilty, must either have a very bad memory, or be extremely deficient in candour and sincerity.—Surely the evidence of people on the spot is much more to be depended upon than that of the emigrants at Coblenz; and what ought to have a very considerable weight in the opinion of every impartial person is, that if M. de la Fayette had been in the secret, his numerous enemies in Paris, and particularly those who were endeavouring to wrest from him the command of the national guards, would not have omitted so favourable an opportunity to sacrifice the object of their hatred and their envy to the fury of an ungovernable mob.

So far from its being credited even by those the most adverse to M. de la Fayette, and so
convinced

convinced were they of his innocence, that when the matter was discussed in the National Assembly, and his life depended on the issue of the question, they had the magnanimity to relinquish their personal interests, to renounce all personal resentments, and decide like honest men, in favour of justice.

F I N I S.

EXPERIMENTAL ESSAYS,

POLITICAL, ECONOMICAL,

AND

PHILOSOPHICAL.

ESSAY I.

AN ACCOUNT OF AN ESTABLISHMENT FOR
THE POOR AT MUNKH.

TOGETHER WITH

A DETAIL OF VARIOUS PUBLIC MEASURES, CONNECTED
WITH THAT INSTITUTION, WHICH HAVE BEEN
ADOPTED AND CARRIED INTO EFFECT FOR
PUTTING AN END TO MENDICITY,

AND INTRODUCING ORDER, AND USEFUL INDUSTRY, AMONG
THE MORE INDIGENT OF THE INHABITANTS OF BAVARIA.

THE THIRD EDITION.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY W. PORTER, 69, GRAFTON-STREET,
AND J. ARCHER, 80, DAME-STREET.

1796.

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COUNT RUMFORD'S
 EXPERIMENTAL ESSAYS,
 POLITICAL, ECONOMICAL,
 AND
 PHILOSOPHICAL.

INTRODUCTION.

Situation of the Author in the Service of his Most Serene Highness the ELECTOR PALATINE, Reigning Duke of BAVARIA. Reasons which induced him to undertake to form an establishment for the Relief of the Poor.

AMONG the vicissitudes of a life chequered by a great variety of incidents, and in which I have been called upon to act in many interesting scenes, I have had an opportunity of employing my attention upon a subject of great importance; a subject intimately and inseparably connected with the happiness and well-being of all civil societies; and which, from its nature, cannot fail to interest every

4 *Public Establishment for*

benevolent mind ;----it is the providing for the wants of the Poor, and securing their happiness and comfort by the introduction of order and industry among them.

The subject, though it is so highly interesting to mankind, has not yet been investigated with that success that could have been wished. This fact is apparent, not only from the prevalence of indolence, misery, and beggary, in almost all the countries of Europe ; but also from the great variety of opinion among those who have taken the matter into serious consideration, and have proposed methods for remedying those evils ; so generally, and so justly complained of.

What I have to offer upon this subject being not merely speculative opinion, but the genuine result of actual experiments ; of experiments made upon a very large scale, and under circumstances which render them peculiarly interesting ; I cannot help flattering myself that my readers will find both amusement and useful information, from the perusal of the following sheets.

As it may perhaps appear extraordinary that a military man should undertake a work so foreign to his profession, as that of forming and executing a plan for providing for the Poor, I have thought it not improper to preface the narrative of my operations, by a short account of the motives which induced me to engage in this undertaking. And in order to throw still more light upon the whole transaction, I shall begin with a few words of myself, of my situation in the country in which I reside,

sive, and of the different objects which were had in view in the various public measures in which I have been concerned. This information is necessary in order to form a clear idea of the circumstances under which the operations in question were undertaken, and of the connection which subsisted between the different public measures which were adopted at the same time.

Having in the year 1784, with His Majesty's gracious permission, engaged myself in the service of His Most Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, Reigning Duke of Bavaria, I have since been employed by His Electoral Highness in various public services, and particularly in arranging his military affairs, and introducing a new system of order, discipline, and œconomy among his troops.

In the execution of this commission, ever mindful of that great and important truth, that no political arrangement can be really good, except in so far as it contributes to the general good of society, I have endeavoured in all my operations to unite the interest of the soldier with the interest of civil society, and to render the military force, even in time of peace, subservient to the *public good*.

To facilitate and promote these important objects, to establish a respectable standing military force, which should do the least possible harm to the population, morals, manufactures, and agriculture of the country, it was necessary to make soldiers citizens, and citizens soldiers. To this end the situation of the soldier was made as easy, comfortable, and eligible as possible; his pay was in-

creased,

Public Establishment for

created, he was comfortably, and even elegantly clothed, and he was allowed every kind of liberty not inconsistent with good order and due subordination; his military exercises were simplified, his instruction rendered short and easy, and all obsolete and useless customs and usages were banished from the service. Great attention was paid to the neatness and cleanliness of the soldiers' barracks and quarters; and which extended even to the external appearance of the buildings; and nothing was left undone, that could tend to make the men comfortable in their dwellings. Schools were established in all the regiments, for instructing the soldiers in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and into these schools, not only the soldiers and their children, but also the children of the neighbouring citizens and peasants, were admitted gratis, and even school-books, paper*, pens, and ink, were furnished for them, at the expence of the Sovereign.

Besides these schools of instruction, others, called schools of industry, were established in the regiments, where the soldiers and their children were taught various kinds of work, and from whence they were supplied with raw materials, to work for their own emolument.

As nothing is so certainly fatal to morals, and particularly to the morals of the lower class of mankind, as habitual idleness, every possible measure

* This paper, as it could afterwards be made use of for making cartridges, in fact cost nothing.

was

the Poor in Bavaria.

7

was adopted, that could be devised, to introduce a spirit of industry among the troops. Every encouragement was given to the soldiers to employ their leisure time, when they were off duty, in working for their own emolument; and among other encouragements, the most efficacious of all, that of allowing them full liberty to dispose of the money acquired by their labour in any way they should think proper, without being obliged to give any account of it to any body. They were even furnished with working dresses, (a canvas frock and trousers,) *gratis*, at their enlisting, and were afterwards permitted to retain their old uniforms for the same purpose; and care was taken, in all cases where they were employed, that they should be well paid.

They commonly received from sixteen to eighteen creutzers * a-day for their labour; and with this they had the advantage of being clothed and lodged, and, in many cases, of receiving their full pay of five creutzers, and a pound and a half (1 lb. 13½ oz. Avoirdupois) of bread per day from the Sovereign. When they did their duty in their regiments, by mounting guard regularly according to their *tour*, (which commonly was every fourth day,) and only worked those days they happened to be off guard, in that case, they received their full pay; but when they were excused from regimental duty, and permitted to work every day for their own emolument, their pay, (at five creutzers per day),

* A creutzer is $\frac{11}{12}$ of an English penny.

was

was stopped, but they were still permitted to receive their bread, and to lodge in the barracks.

In all public works, such as making and repairing highways,—draining marshes,—repairing the banks of rivers, &c. soldiers were employed as labourers; and in all such cases, the greatest care was taken to provide for their comfortable subsistence, and even for their amusement. Good lodgings were prepared for them, and good and wholesome food, at a reasonable price; and the greatest care was taken of them when they happened to fall sick.

Frequently, when considerable numbers of them were at work together, a band of music was ordered to play to them while at work; and on holidays they were permitted, and even encouraged, to make merriment, with dancing and other innocent sports and amusements.

To preserve good order and harmony among those who were detached upon these working parties, a certain proportion of officers and non-commissioned officers were always sent with them, and those commonly served as overseers of the works, and as such were paid.

Besides this permission to work for hire in the garrison towns, and upon detached working parties, which was readily granted to all those who desired it, or at least to as many as could possibly be spared from the necessary service of the garrison; every facility and encouragement was given to the soldier who was a native of the country, and who

had

had a family or friends to go to, or private concerns to take care of, to go home on furlough, and to remain absent from his regiment from one annual exercise to the other, that is to say, ten months and a half each year. This arrangement was very advantageous to the agriculture and manufactures, and even to the population of the country, (for the foldiers were allowed to marry,) and served not a little to the establishment of harmony and a friendly intercourse between the foldiers and the peasantry, and to facilitate recruiting.

Another measure which tended much to render the situation of the foldier pleasant and agreeable, and to facilitate the recruiting service, was the rendering the garrisons of the regiments permanent. This measure might not be advisable in a despotic, or odious government; for where the authority of the Sovereign must be supported by the terror of arms, all habits of social intercourse and friendship between the foldiers and the subjects must be dangerous; but in all well-regulated governments, such friendly intercourse is attended with many advantages.

A peasant would more readily consent to his son's engaging himself to serve as a soldier in a regiment permanently stationed in his neighbourhood, than in one at a great distance, or whose destination was uncertain; and when the station of a regiment is permanent, and it receives its recruits from the district of country immediately surrounding its headquarters,

quarters, the men who go home on furlough have but a short journey to make, and are easily assembled in case of any emergency; and it was the more necessary to give every facility to the soldiers to go home on furlough in Bavaria, as labourers are so very scarce in that country that the husbandman would not be able without them to cultivate his ground.

The habits of industry and of order which the soldier acquired when in garrison, rendered him so much the more useful as a labourer when on furlough; but not contented with merely furnishing labourers for the assistance of the husbandman, I was desirous of making use of the army, as a means of introducing useful improvements into the country.

Though agriculture is carried to the highest perfection in some parts of the Elector's dominions, yet in others, and particularly in Bavaria, is still much behind-hand. Very few of the new improvements in that art, such as the introduction of new and useful plants—the cultivation of clover and of turnips—the regular succession of crops, &c. have yet found their way into general practice in that country; and even the potatoe, that most useful of all the products of the ground, is scarcely known there.

It was principally with a view to introduce the culture of potatoes in that country that the military gardens were formed. These gardens (of which there is one in every garrison belonging to the Elector's dominion, Dusseldorf and Amberg only
excepted)

excepted*) are pieces of ground, in, or adjoining to the garrison towns, which are regularly laid out, and exclusively appropriated to the use of the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers belonging to the regiments in garrison. The ground is regularly divided into districts of regiments, battalions, companies, and corporalities (*corporalschafts*,) of which last divisions there are four to each company; and the quantity of ground allotted to each corporality is such that each man belonging to it, whether non-commissioned officer or private, has a bed 365 square feet in superficies.

This piece of ground remains his sole property as long as he continues to serve in the regiment; and he is at full liberty to cultivate it in any way, and to dispose of the produce of it in any manner he may think proper. He must however cultivate it, and plant it, and keep it neat and free from weeds; otherwise, if he should be idle, and neglect it, it would be taken from him and given to one of his more industrious comrades.

The divisions of these military gardens are marked by broader and smaller alleys, covered with gravel, and neatly kept; and in order that every one who chooses it, may be a spectator of this interesting scene of industry, all the principal alleys, which are made large for that purpose, are always open as a public walk. The effect which this establishment has already produced in the short time (little more

* Particular local reasons, which it is not necessary here to explain, have hitherto prevented the establishment of military gardens in these two garrison towns.

than five years) since it was begun, is very striking, and much greater and more important than I could have expected.

The soldiers, from being the most indolent of mortals, and from having very little knowledge of gardening, or of the produce of a garden, for use, are now become industrious and skilful cultivators, and they are grown so fond of vegetables, particularly of potatoes, which they raise in great quantities, that these useful and wholesome productions now constitute a very essential part of their daily food. And these improvements are also spreading very fast among the farmers and peasants, throughout the whole country. There is hardly a soldier that goes on furlough, or that returns home at the expiration of his time of service, that does not carry with him a few potatoes for planting, and a little collection of garden-seeds; and I have no doubt but in a very few years we shall see potatoes as much cultivated in Bavaria as in other countries; and that the use of vegetables for food will be generally introduced among the common people. I have already had the satisfaction to see little gardens here and there making their appearance, in different parts of the country, and I hope that very soon no farmer's house will be found without one.

To assist the soldiers in the cultivation of their gardens, they are furnished with garden utensils *gratis*; they are likewise furnished from time to time with a certain quantity of manure, and with an assortment of garden-seeds; but they do not rely solely upon these supplies; those who are industrious

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collect materials in their barracks, and in the streets, for making manure, and even sometimes purchase it, and they raise in their own gardens most of the garden-seeds they stand in need of. To enable them to avail themselves of their gardens as early in the spring as possible, in supplying their tables with green vegetables, each company is furnished with a hot-bed for raising early plants.

To attach the soldiers more strongly to these their little possessions, by increasing their comfort and convenience in the cultivation and enjoyment of them, a number of little summer-houses, or rather huts, one to each company, have been erected for the purpose of shelter, where they can retire when it rains, or when they are fatigued.

All the officers of the regiments, from the highest to the lowest, are ordered to give the men every assistance in the cultivation of these their gardens; but they are forbidden, upon pain of the severest punishment, to appropriate to themselves any part of the produce of them, or even to receive any part of it in presents.

CHAP.

C H A P. I.

Of the Prevalence of Mendicity in Bavaria at the Time when the Measures for putting an End to it were adopted.

AMONG the various measures that occurred to me by which the military establishment of the country might be made subservient to the public good in time of peace, none appeared to be of so much importance as that of employing the army in clearing the country of beggars, thieves, and other vagabonds: and in watching over the public tranquillity.

But in order to clear the country of beggars, (the number of whom in Bavaria had become quite intolerable,) it was necessary to adopt general and efficacious measures for maintaining and supporting the Poor. Laws were not wanting to oblige each community in the country to provide for its own Poor; but these laws had been so long neglected; and beggary had become so general, that extraordinary measures, and the most indefatigable exertions, were necessary to put a stop to this evil. The number of itinerant beggars, of both sexes, and all ages, as well foreigners as natives, who strolled about the country in all directions, levying contributions from the industrious inhabitants, stealing and robbing, and leading

ing a life of indolence, and the most shameless debauchery, was quite incredible; and so numerous were the swarms of beggars in all the great towns, and particularly in the capital, so great their impudence, and so persevering their importunity, that it was almost impossible to cross the streets without being attacked, and absolutely forced to satisfy their clamorous demands. And these beggars were in general by no means such as from age or bodily infirmities were unable by their labour to earn their livelihood; but they were for the most part, stout, strong, healthy, sturdy beggars, who, lost to every sense of shame, had embraced the profession from choice, not necessity; and who, not unfrequently, added insolence and threats to their importunity, and extorted that from fear, which they could not procure by their arts of dissimulation.

These beggars not only infested all the streets, public walks, and public places, but they even made a practice of going into private houses, where they never failed to steal whatever fell in their way, if they found the doors open, and nobody at home; and the churches were so full of them that it was quite a nuisance, and a public scandal during the performance of divine service. People at their devotions were continually interrupted by them, and were frequently obliged to satisfy their demands in order to be permitted to finish their prayers in peace and quiet.

In short, these detestable vermin swarmed every where, and not only their impudence and clamorous

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ous importunity were without any bounds, but they had recourse to the most diabolical arts, and most horrid crimes, in the prosecution of their infamous trade. Young children were stolen from their parents by these wretches, and their eyes put out, or their tender limbs broken and distorted, in order, by exposing them thus maimed, to excite the pity and commiseration of the public; and every species of artifice was made use of to agitate the sensibility, and to extort the contributions of the humane and charitable.

Some of these monsters were so void of all feeling as to expose even their own children, naked, and almost starved, in the streets, in order that, by their cries and unaffected expressions of distress, they might move those who passed by to pity and relieve them; and in order to make them act their part more naturally, they were unmercifully beaten when they came home, by their inhuman parents, if they did not bring with them a certain sum, which they were ordered to collect.

I have frequently seen a poor child of five or six years of age, late at night, in the most inclement season, sitting down almost naked at the corner of a street, and crying most bitterly; if he were asked what was the matter with him, he would answer, "I am cold and hungry, and afraid to go home; my mother told me to bring home twelve creutzers, and I have only been able to beg five. My mother will certainly beat me if I don't carry home twelve creutzers." Who could refuse so small a sum

sum to relieve so much unaffected distress?—But what horrid arts are these, to work upon the feelings of the public, and levy involuntary contributions for the support of idleness and debauchery!

But the evils arising from the prevalence of mendicancy did not stop here. The public, worn out and vanquished by the numbers and persevering importunity of the beggars; and frequently disappointed in their hopes of being relieved from their depredations, by the failure of the numberless schemes that were formed and set on foot for that purpose, began at last to consider the case as quite desperate; and to submit patiently to an evil for which they saw no remedy. The consequences of this submission are easy to be conceived; the beggars, encouraged by their success, were attached still more strongly to their infamous profession; and others, allured by their indolent lives, encouraged by their successful frauds, and emboldened by their impunity, joined them. The habit of submission on the part of the public, gave them a sort of right to pursue their depredations;—their growing numbers and their success gave a kind of éclat to their profession; and the habit of begging became so general, that it ceased to be considered as infamous; and was by degrees in a manner interwoven with the internal regulations of society. Herdsmen and shepherds, who attended their flocks by the road side, were known to derive considerable advantage from the contributions which their situation enabled them to levy from passengers; and I have been assured,

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that the wages they received from their employers were often regulated accordingly. The children in every country village, and those even of the best farmers, made a constant practice of begging from all strangers who passed; and one hardly ever met a person on foot upon the road, particularly a woman, who did not hold out her hand and ask for charity.

In the great towns, besides the children of the poorer sort, who almost all made a custom of begging, the professional beggars formed a distinct class, or *cast*, among the inhabitants; and in general a very numerous one. There was even a kind of political connection between the members of this formidable body; and certain general maxims were adopted, and regulations observed, in the warfare they carried on against the public. Each beggar had his particular beat, or district, in the possession of which it was not thought lawful to disturb him; and certain rules were observed in disposing of the districts in case of vacancies by deaths or resignations, promotions or removals. A battle, it is true, frequently decided the contest between the candidates; but when the possession was once obtained, whether by force of arms, or by any other means, the right was ever after considered as indisputable. Alliances by marriage were by no means uncommon in this community; and strange as it may appear, means were found to procure legal permission from the civil magistrates for the celebration of these nuptials! The children were of course trained up in
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the profession of their parents; and having the advantage of an early education, were commonly great proficient in their trade.

As there is no very essential difference between depriving a person of his property by stealth, and extorting it from him against his will, by dint of clamorous importunity, or under false pretence of feigned distress and misfortune; so the transition from begging to stealing is not only easy, but perfectly natural. That total insensibility to shame, and all those other qualifications which are necessary in the profession of a beggar, are likewise essential to form an accomplished thief; and both these professions derive very considerable advantages from their union. A beggar who goes about from house to house to ask for alms, has many opportunities to steal, which another would not so easily find; and his profession as a beggar gives him a great facility in disposing of what he steals; for he can always say it was given him in charity. No wonder then that thieving and robbing should be prevalent where beggars are numerous.

That this was the case in Bavaria will not be doubted by those who are informed that in the four years immediately succeeding the introduction of the measures adopted for putting an end to mendicity, and clearing the country of beggars, thieves, robbers, &c. above *ten thousand* of these vagabonds, foreigners and natives, were actually arrested and delivered over to the civil magistrates; and that in taking up the beggars in Munich, and providing for those who stood in need of public assistance, no less

than 2600 of the one description and the other, were entered upon the lists in one week; though the whole number of the inhabitants of the city of Munich probably does not amount to more than 60,000, even including the suburbs.

These facts are so very extraordinary, that were they not notorious, I should hardly have ventured to mention them, for fear of being suspected of exaggeration; but they are perfectly known in the country, by every body; having been published by authority in the news-papers at the time, with all their various details and specifications, for the information of the public.

What has been said, will, I fancy, be thought quite sufficient to shew the necessity of applying a remedy to the evils described; and of introducing order and a spirit of industry among the lower classes of the people. I shall therefore proceed, without any farther preface, to give an account of the measures which were adopted and carried into execution for that purpose.

C H A P. II.

Various Preparations made for putting an End to Mendicity in Bavaria.—Cantonment of the Cavalry in the Country Towns and Villages.—Formation of the Committee placed at the Head of the Institution for the Poor at Munich.—The Funds of that Institution.

AS soon as it was determined to undertake this great and difficult work, and the plan of operations was finally settled, various preparations were made for its execution.

The first preliminary step taken, was to canton four regiments of cavalry in Bavaria and the adjoining provinces, in such a manner that not only every considerable town was furnished with a detachment, but most of the large villages were occupied; and in every part of the country small parties of threes, fours, and fives, were so stationed; at the distance of one, two, and three leagues from each other; that they could easily perform their daily patrols from one station to another in the course of the day, without ever being obliged to stop at a peasant's house, or even at an inn, or ever to demand forage for their horses, or victuals for themselves, or lodgings, from any person whatever. This arrangement of quarters

ters prevented all disputes between the military and the people of the country. The head-quarters of each regiment, where the commanding officer of the regiment resided, was established in a central situation with respect to the extent of country occupied by the regiment; each squadron had its commanding officer in the centre of its district,—and the subalterns and non-commissioned officers were so distributed in the different cantonments, that the privates were continually under the inspection of their superiors, who had orders to keep a watchful eye over them;—to visit them in their quarters very often; and to preserve the strictest order and discipline among them.

To command these troops, a general officer was named, who, after visiting every cantonment in the whole country, took up his residence at Munich.

Printed instructions were given to the officer, or non-commissioned officer, who commanded a detached post, or patrol; regular monthly returns were ordered to be made to the commanding officers of the regiment, by the officers commanding squadrons;—to the commanding general, by the officers commanding regiments;—and by the commanding general, to the council of war, and to the Sovereign.

To prevent disputes between the military and the civil authorities, and, as far as possible, to remove all grounds of jealousy and ill-will between them; as also to preserve peace and harmony between the soldiery and the inhabitants, these troops
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were strictly ordered and enjoined to behave on all occasions to magistrates and other persons in civil authority with the utmost respect and deference;—to conduct themselves towards the peasants and other inhabitants in the most peaceable and friendly manner;—to retire to their quarters very early in the evening;—and above all, cautiously to avoid disputes and quarrels with the people of the country. They were also ordered to be very diligent and alert in making their daily patrols from one station to another;—to apprehend all thieves and other vagabonds that infested the country, and deliver them over to the civil magistrates;—to apprehend deserters, and conduct them from station to station to their regiments;—to conduct all prisoners from one part of the country to another; to assist the civil magistrate in the execution of the laws, and in preserving peace and order in the country, in all cases where they should be legally called upon for that purpose;—to perform the duty of messengers in carrying government dispatches and orders, civil as well as military, in cases of emergency;—and to bring accounts to the capital, by express, of every extraordinary event of importance that happens in the country;—to guard the frontiers, and assist the officers of the revenue in preventing smuggling;—to have a watchful eye over all soldiers on furlough in the country, and when guilty of excesses, to apprehend them and transport them to their regiments;—to assist the inhabitants in case of fire, and particularly to guard their

their effects, and prevent their being lost or stolen in the confusion which commonly takes place on those occasions;—to pursue and apprehend all thieves, robbers, murderers, and other malefactors;—and in general, to lend their assistance on all occasions where they could be useful in maintaining peace, order, and tranquillity in the country.

As the Sovereign had an undoubted right to quarter his troops upon the inhabitants when they were employed for the police and defence of the country, they were on this occasion called upon to provide quarters for the men distributed in these cantonments; but in order to make this burden as light as possible to the inhabitants, they were only called upon to provide quarters for the *non-commissioned officers* and *privates*; and instead of being obliged to take *these* into their houses, and to furnish them with victuals and lodgings, as had formerly been the practice (and which was certainly a great hardship) a small house or barrack for the men, with stabling adjoining to it for the horses, was built, or proper lodgings were hired by the civil magistrate, in each of these military stations, and the expence was levied upon the inhabitants at large. The forage for the horses was provided by the regiments, or by contractors employed for that purpose; and the men, being furnished with a certain allowance of fire-wood, and the necessary articles of kitchen furniture, were made to provide for their own subsistence, by purchasing their provisions

provisions at the markets, and cooking their victuals in their own quarters.

The officers provided their own lodgings and stabling, being allowed a certain sum for that purpose in addition to their ordinary pay.

The whole of the additional expence to the military chest, for the establishment and support of these cantonments, amounted to a mere trifle; and the burden upon the people, which attended the furnishing of quarters for the non-commissioned officers and privates, was very inconsiderable, and bore no proportion to the advantages derived from the protection and security to their persons and properties afforded by these troops*.

Not only this cantonment of the cavalry was carried into execution as a preliminary measure to the taking up of the beggars in the capital, but many other preparatives were also made for that undertaking.

As considerable sums were necessary for the support of such of the poor as, from age or other bodily infirmities, were unable by their industry to provide for their own subsistence; and as there were no public funds any way adequate to such an expence, which could be applied to this use, the success of the measure depended entirely upon the voluntary subscriptions of the inhabitants; and in order to induce these to subscribe liberally, it was necessary to secure their approbation of the plan, and

* The whole amount of this burden was not more than 30,000 florins, or about 2727*l.* sterling a year.

their

their confidence in those who were chosen to carry it into execution. And as the number of beggars was so great in Munich, and their importunity so very troublesome, there could have been no doubt but any sensible plan for remedying this evil would have been gladly received by the public; but they had been so often disappointed by fruitless attempts from time to time made for that purpose, that they began to think the enterprize quite impossible, and to consider every proposal for providing for the poor, and preventing mendicity, as a mere job.

Aware of this, I took my measures accordingly. To convince the public that the scheme was feasible, I determined first, by a great exertion, to carry it into complete execution, and *then* to ask them to support it. And to secure their confidence in those employed in the management of it, persons of the highest rank, and most respectable character were chosen to superintend and direct the affairs of the institution; and every measure was taken that could be devised to prevent abuses.

Two principal objects were to be attended to, in making these arrangements; the first was to furnish suitable employment to such of the poor as were able to work; and the second, to provide the necessary assistance for those who, from age, sickness, or other bodily infirmities, were unable by their industry to provide for themselves. A general system of police was likewise necessary among this class of miserable beings; as well as measures for reclaiming them, and making them useful subjects.

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The police of the poor, as also the distribution of alms, and all the æconomical details of the institution, were put under the direction of a committee, composed of the president of the council of war,—the president of the council of supreme regency,—the president of the ecclesiastical council,—and the president of the chamber of finances; and to assist them in this work, each of the above-mentioned presidents was accompanied by one counsellor of his respective département, at his own choice; who was present at all the meetings of the committee, and who performed the more laborious parts of the business. This committee, which was called *The Armen Instituts Deputation*, had convenient apartments fitted up for its meetings; a secretary, clerk, and accountant, were appointed to it; and the ordinary guard of the police was put under its immediate direction,

Neither the presidents nor the counsellors belonging to the committee received any pay or emolument whatever for this service, but took upon themselves this trouble merely from motives of humanity, and a generous desire to promote the public good; and even the secretary, and other inferior officers employed in this business, received their pay immediately from the Treasury; or from some other department; and not from the funds destined for the relief of the poor: and in order most effectually to remove all suspicion with respect to the management of this business, and the faithful application of the money destined for the poor, instead
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of appointing a Treasurer to the committee, a public banker of the town, a most respectable citizen *, was named to receive and pay all monies belonging to the institution, upon the written orders of the committee; and exact and detailed accounts of all monies received and expended were ordered to be printed every three months, and distributed *gratis* among the inhabitants.

In order that every citizen might have it in his power to assure himself that the accounts were exact, and that the sums expended were *bonâ fide* given to the poor in alms, the money was publicly distributed every Saturday in the town-hall, in the presence of a number of deputies chosen from among the citizens themselves; and an alphabetical list of the poor who received alms;—in which was mentioned the weekly sum each person received;—and the place of his or her abode, was hung up in the hall for public inspection.

But this was not all. In order to fix the confidence of the public upon the most firm and immoveable basis, and to engage their good will and cheerful assistance in support of the measures adopted, the citizens were invited to take an active and honourable part in the execution of the plan, and in the direction of its most interesting details.

The town of Munich, which contains about 60,000 inhabitants, had been formerly divided into four quarters. Each of these was now sub-

* Monf. Dallarmi.

divided

divided into four districts, making in all sixteen districts; and all the dwelling-houses, from the palace of the sovereign to the meanest hovel, were regularly numbered, and inscribed in printed lists provided for that purpose. For the inspection of the poor in each district, a respectable citizen was chosen, who was called the commissary of the district, (*abtheilungs commissaire*), and for his assistants, a priest; a physician; a surgeon; and an apothecary; all of whom, including the commissary, undertook this service without fee or reward, from mere motives of humanity and true patriotism. The apothecary was simply reimbursed the original cost of the medicines he furnished.

To give more weight and dignity to the office of commissary of a district, one of these commissaries, in rotation, was called to assist at the meetings of the supreme committee; and all applications for alms were submitted to the commissaries for their opinion; or, more properly, all such applications went through them to the committee. They were likewise particularly charged with the inspection and police of the poor in their several districts.

When a person already upon the poor list, or any other, in distress, stood in need of assistance, he applied to the commissary of his district, who, after visiting him, and inquiring into the circumstances of his case, afforded him such immediate assistance as was absolutely necessary; or otherwise, if the case was such as to admit of the delay, he recommended him to the attention of the committee, and waited

waited for their orders. If the poor person was sick, or wounded, he was carried to some hospital; or the physician, or surgeon of the district was sent for, and a nurse provided to take care of him in his lodgings. If he grew worse, and appeared to draw near his end, the priest was sent for, to afford him such spiritual assistance as he might require; and if he died, he was decently buried. After his death, the commissary assisted at the inventory which was taken of his effects, a copy of which inventory was delivered over to the committee. These effects were afterwards sold;—and after deducting the amount of the different sums received in alms from the institution by the deceased during his lifetime, and the amount of the expences of his illness and funeral, the remainder, if any, was delivered over to his lawful heirs; but when these effects were insufficient for those purposes; or when no effects were to be found, the surplus in the one case, and the whole of these expences in the other was borne by the funds of the institution.

These funds were derived from the following sources, viz.

First, from stated monthly allowances, from the sovereign out of his private purse,—from the states,—and from the treasury, or chamber of finances.

Secondly, and principally, from the voluntary subscription of the inhabitants.

Thirdly, from legacies left to the institution, and

Fourthly, from several small revenues arising from certain

certain tolls, fines, &c. which were appropriated to that use*.

Several other, and some of them very considerable public funds, originally designed by their founders for the relief of the poor, might have been taken and appropriated to this purpose; but, as some of these foundations had been misapplied, and others nearly ruined by bad management, it would have been a very disagreeable task to wrest them out of the hands of those who had the administration of them; and I therefore judged it most prudent not to meddle with them, avoiding, by that means, a great deal of opposition to the execution of my plan.

* The annual amount of these various receipts may be seen in the accounts published in the Appendix.

C H A P. III.

Preparations made for giving Employment to the Poor.—Difficulties attending that Undertaking.—The Measures adopted completely successful.—The Poor reclaimed to Habits of useful Industry.—Description of the House of Industry at Munich.

BUT before I proceed to give a more particular account of the funds of this institution, and of the application of them, it will be necessary to mention the preparations which were made for furnishing employment to the poor, and the means which were used for reclaiming them from their vicious habits, and rendering them industrious and useful subjects. And this was certainly the most difficult, as well as the most curious and interesting part of the undertaking. To trust raw materials in the hands of common beggars, certainly required great caution and management;—but to produce so total and radical a change in the morals, manners, and customs of this debauched and abandoned race, as was necessary to render them orderly and useful members of society, will naturally be considered as an arduous, if not impossible, enterprize. In this I succeeded;—for the proof of this fact I appeal to the flourishing state of the different manufactures in
which

which these poor people are now employed,—to their orderly and peaceable demeanour—to their cheerfulness—to their industry,—to the desire to excel, which manifests itself among them upon all occasions,—and to the very air of their countenances. Strangers, who go to see this institution (and there are very few who pass through Munich who do not take that trouble) cannot sufficiently express their surprise at the air of happiness and contentment which reigns throughout every part of this extensive establishment, and can hardly be persuaded, that among those they see so cheerfully engaged in that interesting scene of industry, by far the greater part were, five years ago, the most miserable and most worthless of beings,—common beggars in the streets.

An account of the means employed in bringing about this change cannot fail to be interesting to every benevolent mind ; and this is what has encouraged me to lay these details before the public.

By far the greater number of the poor people to be taken care of were not only common beggars, but had been bred up from their very infancy in that profession ; and were so attached to their indolent and dissolute way of living, as to prefer it to all other situations. They were not only unacquainted with all kinds of work, but had the most insuperable aversion to honest labour ; and had been so long familiarized with every crime, that they had become perfectly callous to all sense of shame and remorse.

With persons of this description, it is easy to be conceived that precepts ;—admonitions ;—and punishments, would be of little or no avail. But

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where precepts fail, *habits* may sometimes be successful.

To make vicious and abandoned people happy, it has generally been supposed necessary, *first*, to make them virtuous. But why not reverse this order? Why not make them first *happy*, and then virtuous? If happiness and virtue be *inseparable*, the end will be as certainly obtained by the one method as by the other; and it is most undoubtedly much easier to contribute to the happiness and comfort of persons in a state of poverty and misery, than, by admonitions and punishments, to reform their morals.

Deeply struck with the importance of this truth, all my measures were taken accordingly. Every thing was done that could be devised to make the poor people I had to deal with comfortable and happy in their new situation; and my hopes, that a habit of enjoying the real comforts and conveniences which were provided for them, would in time, soften their hearts;—open their eyes;—and render them grateful and docile, were not disappointed.

The pleasure I have had in the success of this experiment is much easier to be conceived than described. Would to God that my success might encourage others to follow my example! If it were generally known how little trouble, and how little expence, are required to do much good, the heartfelt satisfaction which arises from relieving the wants, and promoting the happiness of our fellow-creatures, is so great, that I am persuaded, acts of the most essential charity would be much more frequent, and
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the mass of misery among mankind would consequently be much lessened.

Having taken my resolution to make the *comfort* of the poor people, who were to be provided for, the primary object of my attention, I considered what circumstance in life, after the necessities, food and raiment, contributes most to comfort, and I found it to be *cleanliness*. And so very extensive is the influence of cleanliness, that it reaches even to the brute creation.

With what care and attention do the feathered race wash themselves and put their plumage in order; and how perfectly neat, clean and elegant do they ever appear! Among the beasts of the field we find that those which are the most cleanly are generally the most gay and cheerful; or are distinguished by a certain air of tranquillity and contentment; and singing birds are always remarkable for the neatness of their plumage. And so great is the effect of cleanliness upon man, that it extends even to his moral character. Virtue never dwelt long with filth and nastiness; nor do I believe there ever was a person *scrupulously attentive to cleanliness* who was a consummate villain*.

* Almost all the great law-givers, and founders of religions, from the remotest antiquity, seem to have been aware of the influence of cleanliness upon the moral character of man; and have strongly inculcated it. In many cases it has been interwoven with the most solemn rites of public and private worship, and is so still in many countries. The idea that the soul is defiled and depraved by every thing *unclean*, or which defiles the body, has certainly prevailed in all ages; and has been particularly attended to by those great benefactors of mankind, who, by the introduction of *peace* and *order* in society, have laboured successfully to promote the happiness of their fellow-creatures.

Order and disorder—peace and war—health and sickness, cannot exist together ; but *comfort* and *contentment*, the inseparable companions of *happiness* and *virtue*, can only arise from order, peace, and health.

Brute animals are evidently taught cleanliness by instinct ; and can there be a stronger proof of its being essentially necessary to their well-being and happiness ?—But if cleanliness is necessary to the happiness of brutes, how much more so must it be to the happiness of the human race ?

The good effects of cleanliness, or rather the bad effects of filth and nastiness, may, I think, be very satisfactorily accounted for. Our bodies are continually at war with whatever offends them, and every thing offends them that adheres to them, and irritates them ;—and though by long habit we may be so accustomed to support a physical ill, as to become almost insensible to it, yet it never leaves the mind perfectly at peace. There always remains a certain uneasiness, and discontent ;—an indecision, and an aversion from all serious application, which shows evidently that the mind is not at rest.

Those who from being afflicted with long and painful disease, suddenly acquire health, are best able to judge of the force of this reasoning. It is by the delightful sensation they feel, at being relieved from pain and uneasiness, that they learn to know the full extent of their former misery ; and the human heart is never so effectually softened, and so well prepared and disposed to receive virtuous impressions, as upon such occasions.

It was with a view to bring the minds of the poor and unfortunate people I had to deal with to this state, that I took so much pains to make them comfortable in their new situation. The state in which they had been used to live was certainly most wretched and deplorable ; but they had been so long accustomed to it, that they were grown insensible to their own misery. It was therefore necessary, in order to awaken their attention, to make the contrast between their former situation, and that which was prepared for them, as striking as possible. To this end, every thing was done that could be devised to make them *really comfortable*.

Most of them had been used to living in the most miserable hovels, in the midst of vermin, and every kind of filthiness ; or to sleep in the streets, and under the hedges, half naked, and exposed to all the inclemencies of the seasons. A large and commodious building, fitted up in the neatest and most comfortable manner, was now provided for their reception. In this agreeable retreat they found spacious and elegant apartments, kept with the most scrupulous neatness ; well warmed in winter ; and well lighted ; a good warm dinner every day, *gratis* ; cooked and served up with all possible attention to order and cleanliness ;—materials and utensils for those who were able to work ;—masters, *gratis*, for those who required instruction ;—the most generous pay, *in money*, for all the labour performed ; and the kindest usage from every person, from the highest to the lowest, belonging to the establishment. Here, in this asylum for the indigent and

unfortunate,

unfortunate, no ill usage;—no harsh language, is permitted. During five years that the establishment has existed, not a blow has been given to any one; not even to a child by his instructor.

As the rules and regulations for the preservation of order are few, and easy to be observed, the instances of their being transgressed are rare; and as all the labour performed, is paid by the piece; and not by the day; and is well paid; and as those who gain the most by their work in the course of the week, receive proportional rewards on the Saturday evening; these are most effectual encouragements to industry.

But before I proceed to give an account of the internal economy of this establishment, it will be necessary to describe the building which was appropriated to this use; and the other local circumstances, necessary to be known, in order to have a clear idea of the subject.

This building, which is very extensive, is pleasantly situated in the *Au*, one of the suburbs of the city of Munich. It had formerly been a manufactory, but for many years had been deserted and falling to ruins. It was now completely repaired, and in part rebuilt. A large kitchen, with a large eating-room adjoining it, and a commodious bake-house, were added to the buildings; and work shops for carpenters; smiths; turners; and such other mechanics as were constantly wanted in the manufactory for making and repairing the machinery were established, and furnished with tools. Large halls were fitted up for spinners of hemp;—
for

for spinners of flax ;—for spinners of cotton ;—for spinners of wool ;—and for spinners of worsted ; and adjoining to each hall a small room was fitted up for a clerk or inspector of the hall, (*Spin-schreiber*). This room, which was at the same time a store-room, and counting-house, had a large window opening into the hall, from whence the spinners were supplied with raw materials ;—where they delivered their yarn when spun ;—and from whence they received an order upon the cashier, signed by the clerk, for the amount of their labour.

Halls were likewise fitted up for weavers of wools ;—for weavers of serges and shalloons ;—for linen weavers ;—for weavers of cotton goods, and for stocking weavers ;—and work-shops were provided for clothiers ;—cloth shearers ;—dyers ;—saddlers ;—and rooms for wool-sorters ;—wool-carders ;—wool-combers, —knitters ;—sempstresses, &c. Magazines were fitted up as well for finished manufactures, as for raw materials, and rooms for counting-houses, —store-rooms for the kitchen and bake-house, —and dwelling-rooms for the inspectors and other officers who were lodged in the house.

A very spacious hall, 110 feet long, 37 feet wide, and 22 feet high, with many windows on both sides, was fitted up as a drying-room ; and in this hall tenters were placed for stretching out and drying eight pieces of cloth at once. This hall was so contrived as to serve for the dyer and for the clothier at the same time.

A fulling-mill was established upon a stream of water which runs by one side of the court round which the building is erected ; and adjoining to the
fulling

fulling-mill, is the dyers-shop; and the wash-house.

This whole edifice, which is very extensive, was fitted up, as has already been observed, in the neatest manner possible. In doing this, even the external appearance of the building was attended to. It was handsomely painted; without, as well as within; and pains were taken to give it an air of *elegance*, as well as of neatness and cleanliness. A large court in the middle of the building was handsomely paved; and the ground before the building was levelled, and covered with gravel; and the approach to it from every side was made easy and commodious. Over the principal door, or rather gate, which fronts the street, is an inscription, denoting the use to which the building is appropriated; and in the passage leading into the court, there is written in large letters of gold upon a black ground—"NO ALMS WILL BE RECEIVED HERE."

Upon coming into the court you see inscriptions over all the doors upon the ground floor, leading to the different parts of the building. These inscriptions, which are all in letters of gold upon a black ground, denote the particular uses to which the different apartments are destined.

This building having been got ready, and a sufficient number of spinning-wheels, looms, and other utensils made use of in the most common manufactures being provided; together with a sufficient stock of raw materials, I proceeded to carry my plan into execution in the manner which will be related in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

An Account of the taking up of the Beggars at Munich.

—The Inhabitants are called upon for their Assistance.—General Subscription for the Relief and Support of the Poor.—All other public and private Collections for the Poor abolished.

NEW-YEAR'S-DAY having, from time immemorial, being considered in Bavaria as a day peculiarly set apart for giving alms; and the beggars never failing to be all out upon that occasion; I chose that moment as being the most favourable for beginning my operations. Early in the morning of the first of January 1790, the officers and non-commissioned officers of the three regiments of infantry in garrison, were stationed in the different streets, where they were directed to wait for further orders.

Having, in the mean time, assembled, at my lodgings, the field-officers, and all the chief magistrates of the town, I made them acquainted with my intention to proceed that very morning to the execution of a plan I had formed for taking up the beggars, and providing for the poor; and asked their immediate assistance.

To shew the public that it was not my wish to carry this measure into execution by military force.

alone (which might have rendered the measure odious) but that I was disposed to shew all becoming deference to the civil authority, I begged the magistrates to accompany me, and the field-officers of the garrison, in the execution of the first and most difficult part of the undertaking, that of arresting the beggars. This they most readily consented to, and we immediately sallied out into the street, myself accompanied by the chief magistrate of the town, and each of the field-officers by an inferior magistrate.

We were hardly got into the street when we were accosted by a beggar, who asked us for alms. I went up to him, and laying my hand gently upon his shoulder, told him, that from thenceforwards begging would not be permitted in Munich;—that if he really stood in need of assistance (which would immediately be enquired into) the necessary assistance should certainly be given him, but that begging was forbidden; and if he was detected in it again he would be severely punished. I then delivered him over to an orderly serjeant who was following me, with directions to conduct him to the Town-hall, and deliver him into the hands of those he should find there to receive him; and then turning to the officers and magistrates who accompanied me, I begged they would take notice, that I had myself, *with my own hands*, arrested the first beggar we had met; and I requested them not only to follow my example themselves, by arresting all the beggars they should meet with, but that they would also endeavour to persuade others,

others, and particularly the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the garrison, that it was by no means derogatory to their character as soldiers, or in anywise disgraceful to them, to assist in so *useful* and *laudable* an undertaking. Those gentlemen having cheerfully and unanimously promised to do their utmost to second me in this business, dispersed into the different parts of the town, and with the assistance of the military, which they found every where waiting for orders, the town was so thoroughly cleared of beggars *in less than an hour*, that not one was to be found in the streets.

Those who were arrested were conducted to the Town-hall, where their names were inscribed in printed lists provided for that purpose, and they were then dismissed to their own lodgings, with directions to repair the next day to the newly erected "*Military Work-house*" in the Au; where they would find comfortable warm rooms; a good warm dinner every day; and work for all those who were in a condition to labour. They were likewise told that a commission should immediately be appointed to enquire into their circumstances, and to grant them such regular weekly allowances of money, in alms, as they should stand in need of; which was accordingly done.

Orders were then issued to all the military guards in the different parts of the town, to send out patrols frequently into the streets in their neighbourhood, to arrest all the beggars they should meet with; and a reward was offered for each beggar they should arrest and deliver over to the civil magi-

gistrate.

44 *Public Establishment for*

gistrate. The guard of the police was likewise directed to be vigilant ; and the inhabitants at large, of all ranks and denominations, were earnestly called upon to assist in completing a work of so much public utility, and which had been so happily begun *. In an address to the public, which was printed and distributed *gratis* among the inhabitants, the fatal consequences arising from the prevalence of mendicity were described in the most lively and affecting colours—and the manner pointed out in which they could most effectually assist in putting an end to an evil equally disgraceful and prejudicial to society.

As this address (which was written with great spirit, by a man well known in the literary world, Professor Babo) gives a very striking and a very just picture of the character, manners, and customs, of the hords of idle and dissolute vagabonds which infested Munich at the time the measure in

* Upon this occasion I must not forget to mention a curious circumstance, which contributed very much towards clearing the town effectually of beggars. It being found that some of the most hardened of these vagabonds were attempting to return to their old practices, and that they found means to escape the patrols, by keeping a sharp look-out, and avoiding them ; to hold them more effectually in check, the patrols sent out upon this service were ordered to go without arms. In consequence of this arrangement, the beggars being no longer able to distinguish who were in search of them, and who were not, saw a patrol in every soldier they met with in the streets (and of these there were great numbers, Munich being a garrison town) and from thenceforward they were kept in awe.

question

question was adopted, and of the various artifices they made use of in carrying on their depredations; I have thought it might not be improper to annex it, at full length, in the Appendix, No. I.

This address, which was presented to all the heads of families in the city, and to many by myself, having gone round to the doors of most of the principal citizens for that purpose, was accompanied by printed lists, in which the inhabitants were requested to set down their names;—places of abode;—and the sums they chose to contribute monthly, for the support of the establishment. These lists; (translations of which are also inserted in the Appendix, No. II.) were delivered to the heads of families, with duplicates, to the end that one copy being sent in to the committee, the other might remain with the master of the family.

These subscriptions being *perfectly voluntary*, might be augmented or diminished at pleasure. When any person chose to alter his subscription, he sent to the public office for two blank subscription lists, and filling them up anew, with such alterations as he thought proper to make, he took up his old list at the office, and deposited the new one in its stead.

The subscription lists being all collected, they were sorted, and regularly entered according to the numbers of the houses of the subscribers, in sixteen general lists*, answering to the sixteen subdivisions.

* Upon a new division of the town, when the suburbs were included, the number of subdivisions (*abtheilungs*) were augmented to twenty three.

or districts of the city; and a copy of the general list of each district was given to the commissary of the district.

These copies, which were properly authenticated, served for the direction of the commissary in collecting the subscriptions in his district, which was done regularly the last Sunday morning of every month.

The amount of the collection was immediately delivered by the commissary into the hands of the banker of the institution, for which he received two receipts from the banker; one of which he kept for his own justification, and the other he transmitted to the committee, with his report of the collection, which he was directed to send in as soon as the collection was made.

As there were some persons who, from modesty, or other motives, did not choose to have it known publicly how much they gave in alms to the poor, and on that account were not willing to have put down their names upon the list of the subscribers, the whole sum they were desirous of appropriating to that purpose; to accommodate matters to the peculiar delicacy of their feelings, the following arrangement was made, and carried into execution with great success.

Those who were desirous of contributing privately to the relief of the poor, were notified by an advertisement published in the news-papers, that they might send to the banker of the institution any sums for that purpose they might think proper, under any feigned name, or under any motto or
other

other device; and that not only a receipt would be given to the bearer, for the amount, without any questions being asked him, but, for greater security a public acknowledgement of the receipt of the sum would be published by the banker, with a mention of the feigned name or device under which it came, *in the next Munich Gazette.*

To accommodate those who might be disposed to give trifling sums occasionally, for the relief of the poor, and who did not choose to go, or to send to the banker, fixed poor-boxes were placed in all the churches, and most of the inns; coffee-houses; and other places of public resort; but nobody was ever called upon to put any thing into these boxes, nor was any poor's-box carried round, or any private collection or alms-gathering permitted to be made upon any occasion, or under any pretence whatever.

When the inhabitants had subscribed liberally to the support of the institution, it was but just to secure them from all further importunity in behalf of the poor. This was promised, and it was most effectually done; though not without some difficulty, and a very considerable expence to the establishment.

The poor students in the Latin and German schools;—the sisters of the religious order of charity;—the directors of the hospital of lepers;—and some other public establishments, had been so long in the habit of making collections, by going round among the inhabitants from house to house at stated periods, asking alms, that they had acquired a sort
of

of right to levy those periodical contributions, of which it was not thought prudent to dispossess them without giving them an equivalent. And in order that this equivalent might not appear to be taken from the sums subscribed by the inhabitants for the support of the poor, it was paid out of the monthly allowance which the institution received from the chamber of finances, or public treasury of the state.

Besides these periodical collections, there were others, still more troublesome to the inhabitants, from which it was necessary to free them; and some of these last were even sanctioned by legal authority. It is the custom in Germany for apprentices in most of the mechanical trades, as soon as they have finished their apprenticeships with their masters, to travel, during three or four years, in the neighbouring countries and provinces, to perfect themselves in their professions by working as journeymen wherever they can find employment. When one of those itinerant journeymen-tradesmen comes into a town, and cannot find employment in it, he is considered *as having a right* to beg the assistance of the inhabitants, and particularly of those of the trade he professes, to enable him to go to the next town; and this assistance it was not thought just to refuse. This custom was not only very troublesome to the inhabitants, but gave rise to innumerable abuses. Great numbers of idle vagabonds were continually strolling about the country under the name of travelling journeymen-tradesmen; and though any person, who presented himself as such in any strange place, was obliged to produce

produce (for his legitimation) a certificate from his last master, in whose service he had been employed, yet such certificates were so easily counterfeited, or obtained by fraud, that little reliance could be placed in them.

To remedy all these evils, the following arrangement was made : those travelling journeymen-tradesmen who arrive at Munich, and do not find employment, are obliged to quit the town immediately, or to repair to the military work-house, where they are either furnished with work, or a small sum is given them to enable them to pursue their journey farther.

Another arrangement by which the inhabitants have been relieved from much importunity, and by which a stop has been put to many abuses, is the new regulation respecting those who suffer by fire ; such sufferers commonly obtain from government special permission to make collections of charitable donations among the inhabitants in certain districts, during a limited time. Instead of the permission to make collections in the city of Munich, the sufferers now receive certain sums from the funds of the institution for the poor. By this arrangement, not only the inhabitants are relieved from the importunity which always attends public collections of alms, but the sufferers save a great deal of time, which they formerly spent in going about from house to house ; and the sale of these permissions to undertakers, and many other abuses, but too frequent before this arrangement took place, are now prevented.

The detailed account published in the Appendix, No. III. of the receipts and expenditures of the institution during five years, will show the amount of the expence incurred in relieving the inhabitants from the various periodical and other collections before mentioned.

But not to lose sight too long of the most interesting object of this establishment, we must follow the people who were arrested in the streets, to the asylum which was prepared for them, but which no doubt appeared to them at first a most odious prison.

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

The different Kinds of Employment given to the Beggars upon their being assembled in the House of Industry.—Their great Awkwardness at first.—Their Docility, and their Progress in useful Industry.—The Manner in which they were treated.—The Manner in which they were fed.—The Precautions used to prevent Abuses in the Public Kitchen from which they were fed.

AS by far the greater part of these poor creatures were totally unacquainted with every kind of useful labour, it was necessary to give them such work, at first, as was very easy to be performed, and in which the raw materials were of little value; and then, by degrees, as they became more adroit, to employ them in manufacturing more valuable articles.

As hemp is a very cheap commodity, and as the spinning of hemp is easily learned, particularly when it is designed for very coarse and ordinary manufactures, 15,000 pounds of that article were purchased in the palatinate, and transported to Munich; and several hundred spinning wheels, proper for spinning it, were provided; and several good spinners, as instructors, were engaged, and in readiness, when this house of industry was opened for the reception of the poor.

Flax and wool were likewise provided, and some few good spinners of those articles were engaged as instructors; but by far the greater number of the poor began with spinning of hemp; and so great was their awkwardness at first, that they absolutely ruined almost all the raw materials that were put into their hands. By an exact calculation of profit and loss, it was found that the manufactory actually lost more than 3000 florins upon the articles of hemp and flax, during the first three months; but we were not discouraged by these unfavourable beginnings; they were indeed easy to be foreseen, considering the sort of people we had to deal with, and how necessary it was to pay them at a very high rate for the little work they were able to perform, in order to keep up their courage, and induce them to persevere with cheerfulness in acquiring more skill and address in their labour. If the establishment was supported at some little expence, in the beginning, it afterwards richly repaid these advances, as will be seen in the sequel of this account.

As the clothing of the army was the market upon which I principally depended, in disposing of the manufactures which should be made in the house, the woollen manufactory was an object most necessary to be attended to, and from which I expected to derive most advantage to the establishment; but still it was necessary to begin with the manufacture of hemp and flax, not only because those articles are less valuable than wool, and the loss arising from their being spoiled by the awkwardness

wardness of beginners is of less consequence, but also for another reason, which appears to me to be of so much importance as to require a particular explanation.

It was hinted above that it was found necessary, in order to encourage beginners in these industrious pursuits, to pay them at a very high rate for the little work they were able to perform; but every body knows that no manufacture can possibly subsist long, where exorbitant prices are paid for labour; and it is easy to conceive what discontent and disgust would be occasioned among the workmen upon lowering the prices which had for a length of time been given for labour. By employing the poor people in question at first in the manufactures of hemp and flax, manufactures which were not intended to be carried on to any extent, it was easy afterwards, when they had acquired a certain degree of address in their work, to take them from these manufactures, and put them to spinning of wool, worsted or cotton; care having been taken to fix the price of labour in these last-mentioned manufactures at a reasonable rate.

The dropping the manufacture of any particular article altogether, or pursuing it less extensively, could produce no bad effect upon the general establishment; but the lowering of the price of labour, in any instance, could not fail to produce many.

It is necessary, in an undertaking like this, cautiously to avoid every thing that could produce discouragement.

encouragement and discontent among those upon whose industry alone success must depend.

It is easy to conceive that so great a number of unfortunate beings, of all ages and sexes, taken as it were out of their very element, and placed in a situation so perfectly new to them, could not fail to be productive of very interesting situations. Would to God I were able to do justice to this subject! but no language can describe the affecting scenes to which I was a witness upon this occasion.

The exquisite delight which a sensible mind must feel, upon seeing many hundreds of wretched beings awaking from a state of misery and inactivity, as from a dream; and applying themselves with cheerfulness to the employments of useful industry;—upon seeing the first dawn of placid content break upon a countenance covered with habitual gloom, and furrowed and distorted by misery;—this is easier to be conceived than described.

During the first three or four days that these poor people were assembled, it was not possible entirely to prevent confusion: there was nothing like mutinous resistance among them; but their situation was so new to them, and they were so very awkward in it, that it was difficult to bring them into any tolerable order. At length, however, by distributing them in the different halls, and assigning to each his particular place, (the places being all distinguished by numbers,) they were brought into such order as to enable the inspectors, and instructors, to begin their operations.

Those

Those who understood any kind of work, were placed in the apartments where the work they understood was carried on; and the others, being classified according to their sexes, and as much as possible according to their ages, were placed under the immediate care of the different instructors. By much the larger number were put to spinning of hemp;—others, and particularly the young children from four to seven years of age, were taught to knit, and to sew; and the most awkward among the men, and particularly the old, the lame, and the infirm, were put to carding of wool. Old women, whose sight was too weak to spin, or whose hands trembled with palsy, were made to spool yarn for the weavers; and young children, who were too weak to labour, were placed upon seats erected for that purpose round the rooms where other children worked.

As it was winter, fires were kept in every part of the building, from morning till night; and all the rooms were lighted up till nine o'clock in the evening. Every room and every staircase was neatly swept and cleaned twice a day; once early in the morning, before the people were assembled, and once while they were at dinner.—Care was taken, by placing ventilators, and occasionally opening the windows, to keep the air of the rooms perfectly sweet and free from all disagreeable smells; and the rooms themselves were not only neatly white-washed and fitted up, and arranged in every respect with elegance, but care was taken to clean the windows very often;—to clean the court-yard every day;—
and

and even to clear away the rubbish from the street in front of the building, to a considerable distance on every side.

Those who frequented this establishment were expected to arrive at the fixed hour in the morning, which hour varied according to the season of the year; if they came too late, they were gently reprimanded; and if they persisted in being tardy, without being able to give a sufficient excuse for not coming sooner, they were punished by being deprived of their dinner, which otherwise they received every day *gratis*.

At the hour of dinner, a large bell was rung in the court, when those at work in the different parts of the building repaired to the dining-hall; where they found a wholesome and nourishing repast; consisting of about *a pound and a quarter*, Avoirdupois weight, of a very rich soup of peas and barley, mixed with cuttings of fine white bread; and a piece of excellent rye bread, weighing *seven ounces*; which last they commonly put in their pockets, and carried home for their supper. Children were allowed the same portion as grown persons; and a mother, who had one or more young children, was allowed a portion for each of them.

Those who, from sickness, or other bodily infirmities, were not able to come to the work-house;—as also those who, on account of young children they had to nurse, or sick persons to take care of, found it more convenient to work at their own lodgings, (and of these there were many,) were not on that account

account deprived of their dinners. Upon representing their cases to the committee, tickets were granted them, upon which they were authorized to receive from the public kitchen, daily, the number of portions specified in the ticket; and these they might send for by a child, or by any other person they thought proper to employ; it was necessary, however, that the ticket should always be produced, otherwise the portions were not delivered. This precaution was necessary, to prevent abuses on the part of the poor.

Many other precautions were taken to prevent frauds on the part of those employed in the kitchen, and in the various other offices and departments concerned in feeding the poor.

The bread-corn, peas, barley, &c. were purchased in the public market in large quantities, and at times when those articles were to be had at reasonable prices; and were laid up in store-rooms provided for that purpose, under the care of the store-keeper of the Military Work-house.

The baker received his flour by weight from the store-keeper, and in return delivered a certain fixed quantity of bread. Each loaf, when well baked, and afterwards dried, during four days, in a bread-room through which the air had a free passage, weighed two pounds ten ounces Avoirdupois. Such a loaf was divided into six portions; and large baskets filled with these pieces being placed in the passage leading to the dining-hall, the portions were delivered out to the poor as they passed to go into
the

the hall, each person who passed giving a medal of tin to the person who gave him the bread, in return for each portion received. These medals, which were given out to the poor each day in the halls, where they worked, by the steward, or by the inspectors of the hall, served to prevent frauds in the distribution of the bread; the person who distributed it being obliged to produce them as vouchers of the quantity given out each day.

Those who had received these portions of bread, held them up in their hands upon their coming into the dining-hall, as a sign that they had a right to seat themselves at the tables; and as many portions of bread as they produced, so many portions of soup they were entitled to receive; and those portions which they did not eat they were allowed to carry away; so that the delivery of bread was a check upon the delivery of soup, and *vice versa*.

The kitchen was fitted up with all possible attention, as well to convenience, as to the economy of fuel. This will readily be believed by those who are informed, that the whole work of the kitchen is performed, with great ease, by three cook-maids; and that the daily expence for fire-wood amounts to no more than twelve creutzers, or *four-pence halfpenny* sterling, when dinner is provided for 1000 people. The number of persons who are fed *daily* from this kitchen is, at a medium, in summer, about *one thousand*, (rather more than less,) and in winter, about 1200. Frequently, however, there have been more than 1500 at table.

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As a particular account of this kitchen, with drawings; together with an account of a number of new and very interesting experiments relative to the economy of fuel, will be annexed to this work, I shall add nothing more now upon the subject; except it be the certificate, which may be seen in the Appendix, No. IV; which I have thought prudent to publish, in order to prevent my being suspected of exaggeration in displaying the advantages of my economical arrangements.

The assertion, that a warm dinner may be cooked for 1000 persons, at the trifling expence of fourpence halfpenny for fuel; and that, too, where the cord, five feet eight inches and nine-tenths long, five feet eight inches and nine-tenths high, and five feet three inches and two-tenths wide, English measure, of pine-wood, of the most indifferent quality, costs above seven shillings; and where the cord of hard wood, such as beech and oak, of equal dimensions, costs more than twice that sum, may appear incredible; yet I will venture to assert, and I hereby pledge myself with the public to prove, that in the kitchen of the Military Academy at Munich, and especially in a kitchen lately built under my direction at Verona, in the hospital of *la Pietà*, I have carried the economy of fuel still further.

To prevent frauds in the kitchen of the institution for the poor at Munich, the ingredients are delivered each day by the store-keeper, to the chief cook; and a person of confidence, not belonging to the kitchen, attends at the proper hour to see that

that they are actually used. Some one of the inspectors, or other chief officer of the establishment, also attends at the hour of dinner, to see that the victuals furnished to the poor are good ; well dressed ; and properly served up.

As the dining-hall is not large enough to accommodate all the poor at once, they dine in companies of as many as can be seated together, (about 150) ; those who work in the house being served first, and then those who come from the town.

Though most of those who work in their own lodgings send for their dinners, yet there are many others, and particularly such as from great age or other bodily infirmities are not able to work, who come from the town every day to the public hall to dine ; and as these are frequently obliged to wait some time at the door, before they can be admitted into the dining-hall ;—that is to say, till all the poor who work in the house have finished their dinners ;—for their more comfortable accommodation, a large room, provided with a stove for heating it in winter, has been constructed, adjoining to the building of the institution, but not within the court, where these poor people assemble, and are sheltered from the inclemency of the weather while they wait for admittance into the dining-hall.

To preserve order and decorum at these public dinners, and to prevent crowding and jostling at the door of the dining-hall, the steward, or some other officer of the house of some authority, is always present in the hall during dinner ; and two
privates

privates of the police guards, who know most of the poor personally, take post at the door of the hall, one on each side of it; and between them the poor are obliged to pass singly into the hall.

As soon as a company have taken their places at the table, (the soup being always served out and placed upon the tables before they are admitted,) upon a signal given by the officer who presides at the dinner, they all repeat together a short prayer. Perhaps I ought to ask pardon for mentioning so old-fashioned a custom; but I own I am old-fashioned enough myself to like such things.

As an account in detail will be given in another place, of the expence of feeding these poor people, I shall only observe here, that this expence was considerably lessened by the voluntary donations of bread, and offal meat, which were made by the bakers and butchers of the town and suburbs. The beggars, not satisfied with the money which they extorted from all ranks of people by their unceasing importunity, had contrived to lay certain classes of the inhabitants under regular periodical contributions of certain commodities; and especially eatables; which they collected in kind. Of this nature were the contributions which were levied by them upon the bakers, butchers, keepers of eating-houses, ale-house keepers, brewers, &c. all of whom were obliged, at stated periods;—once a-week at least;—or oftener;—to deliver to such of the beggars as presented themselves at the hour appointed, very considerable quantities of bread, meat, soup, and other

other eatables; and to such a length were these shameful impositions carried, that a considerable traffic was actually carried on with the articles so collected, between the beggars and a number of petty shop-keepers, or hucksters, who purchased them of the beggars, and made a business of selling them by retail to the indigent and industrious inhabitants. And though these abuses were well known to the public, yet this custom had so long existed, and so formidable were the beggars become to the inhabitants, that it was by no means safe, or advisable, to refuse their demands.

Upon the town being cleared of beggars, these impositions ceased of course; and the worthy citizens, who were relieved from this burthen, felt so sensibly the service that was rendered them, that, to show their gratitude, and their desire to assist in supporting so useful an establishment, they voluntarily offered, in addition to their monthly subscriptions in money, to contribute every day a certain quantity of bread, meat, soup, &c. towards feeding the poor in the Military Work-house. And these articles were collected every day by the servants of the establishment; who went round the town with small carts, neatly fitted up, and elegantly painted, and drawn by single small horses, neatly harnessed.

As in these, as well as in all other collections of public charity, it was necessary to arrange matters so that the public might safely place the most perfect confidence in those who were charged with these details;

details; the collections were made in a manner in which it was *evidently impossible* for those employed in making them to defraud the poor of any part of that which their charitable and more opulent fellow-citizens designed for their relief.—And to this circumstance principally it may, I believe, be attributed, that these donations have for such a length of time (more than five years,) continued to be so considerable.

In the collection of the soup, and of the offal meat at the butchers' shops, as those articles were not very valuable and not easily concealed or disposed of, no particular precautions were necessary, other than sending round *publicly* and at a *certain hour* the carts destined for those purposes. Upon that for collecting the soup, which was upon four wheels, was a large cask neatly painted with an inscription on each side in large letters, "*for the Poor.*" That for the meat held a large tub with a cover, painted with the same colours, and marked on both sides with the same inscription.

Beside this tub, other smaller tubs, painted in like manner, and bearing the same inscription, "*for the Poor,*" were provided and hung up in conspicuous situations in all the butchers' shops in the town. In doing this, two objects were had in view, first the convenience of the butchers; that in cutting up their meat they might have a convenient place to lay by, that which they should destine for the poor till it should be called for; and secondly, to give an opportunity to those who bought meat in their shops

shops to throw in any odd scraps, or bones, they might receive, and which they might not think worth the trouble of carrying home.

These odd pieces are more frequently to be met with in the lots which are sold in the butchers' shops in Munich than in almost any other town; for as the price of meat is fixed by authority, the butchers have a right to sell the whole carcase, the bad pieces with the good, so that with each good lot there is what in this country is called the *zugewicht*, that is to say, an indifferent scrap of offal meat, or piece of bone, to make up the weight;—and these refuse pieces were very often thrown into the poor's tub; and after being properly cleaned and boiled, served to make their soup much more savoury and nourishing.

In the collection of the daily donations of bread, as that article is more valuable, and more easily concealed and disposed of, more precautions were used to prevent frauds on the parts of the servants who were sent round to make the collection.

The cart which was employed for this purpose was furnished with a large wooden chest, firmly nailed down upon it, and provided with a good lock and key; and this chest, which was neatly painted, and embellished with an inscription, was so contrived, by means of an opening in the top of a large vertical wooden tube fixed in its lid, and made in the form of a mouse-trap, that when it was locked, (as it always was when it was sent round for the donations of bread,) a loaf of
bread,

bread, or any thing of that size, could be put into it; but nothing could be taken out of it by the same opening. Upon the return of the cart, the bread-chest was opened by the steward, who keeps the key of it; and its contents, after being entered in a register kept for that purpose, were delivered over to the care of the store-keeper.

The bread collected was commonly such as not having been sold in time, had become too old, hard, and stale for the market; but which, being cut fine, a handful of it put into a basin of good pease-soup, was a great addition to it.

The amount of these charitable donations in kind, may be seen in the translations of the original returns, which are annexed in the Appendix, No. III.

The collections of soup were not long continued, it being found to be in general of much too inferior a quality to be mixed with the soup made in the kitchen of the poor-house; but the collections of bread, and of meat, continue to this time, and are still very productive.

But the greatest resource in feeding the poor, is one which I am but just beginning to avail myself of,—the use of potatoes*. Of this subject, however, I shall treat more largely hereafter.

The above-mentioned precautions used in making collections in kind, may perhaps appear trifling, and superfluous; they were nevertheless very necessary. It was also found necessary to change all the poor's-boxes in the churches, to prevent their being rob-

* This was written in the summer of the year 1795.

bed: for though in those which were first put up, the openings were not only small, but ended in a curved tube, so that it appeared almost impossible to get any of the money out of the box by the same opening by which it was put into it; yet means were found, by introducing into the opening thin pieces of elastic wood, covered with bird-lime, to rob the boxes. This was prevented in the new boxes, by causing the money to descend through a sort of bag, with a hole in the bottom of it, or rather a flexible tube, made of chain-work, with iron wire, suspended in the middle of the box.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

Apology for the Want of Method in treating the Subject under Consideration.—Of the various Means used for encouraging Industry among the Poor.—Of the internal Arrangement and Government of the House of Industry.—Why called the Military Workhouse.—Of the Manner in which the Business is carried on there.—Of the various Means used for preventing Frauds in carrying on the Business in the different Manufactures.—Of the flourishing State of those Manufactures.

THOUGH all the different parts of a well arranged establishment go on together, and harmonize, like the parts of a piece of music in full score, yet, in describing such an establishment, it is impossible to write like the musician, *in score*, and to make all the parts of the narrative advance together. Various movements, which exist together, and which have the most intimate connection and dependence upon each other, must nevertheless be described separately; and the greatest care and attention, and frequently no small share of address, are necessary in the management of such descriptions, to render the details intelligible; and to give the whole its full effect of order;—dependence;—connection;—and harmony. And in no case can these difficulties be greater, than in descriptions like those in which

I am now engaged ; where the number of the objects, and of the details, is so great, that it is difficult to determine which should be attended to first ; and how far it may safely be pursued, without danger of the others being too far removed from their proper places ;—or excluded ;—or forgotten,

The various measures adopted, and precautions taken, in arresting the beggars,—in collecting and distributing alms,—in establishing order and police among them,—in feeding and cloathing the poor,—and in establishing various manufactures for giving them employment, are all subjects which deserve, and require, the most particular explanation ; yet those are not only operations which were begun at the same time ; and carried on together ; but they are so dependent upon each other, that it is almost impossible to have a complete idea of the one, without being acquainted with the others ; or of treating of the one, without mentioning the others at the same time.—This, therefore, must be my excuse, if I am taxed with want of method, or of perspicuity in the descriptions ; and this being premised, I shall proceed to give an account of the various objects and operations which yet remain to be described.

I have already observed how necessary it was to encourage, by every possible means, a spirit of industry and emulation among those, who, from leading a life of indolence and debauchery, were to be made useful members of society ; and I have mentioned some of the measures which were adopted for that purpose. It remains for me to pursue.

pursue this interesting subject; and to treat it, in all its details, with that care and attention which its importance so justly demands.

Though a very generous price was paid for labour, in the different manufactures in which the poor were employed, yet, that alone was not enough to interest them sufficiently in the occupations in which they were engaged. To excite their activity, and inspire them with a true spirit of persevering industry, it was necessary to fire them with emulation;—to awaken in them a dormant passion, whose influence they had never felt;—the love of honest fame;—an ardent desire to excel;—the love of glory;—or by what other more humble or pompous name this passion, the most noble, and most beneficent that warms the human heart, can be distinguished.

To excite emulation;—praise;—distinctions;—rewards are necessary; and these were all employed. Those who distinguished themselves by their application,—by their industry,—by their address,—were publicly praised and encouraged;—brought forward, and placed in the most conspicuous situations; pointed out to strangers who visited the establishment; and particularly named and proposed as models for others to copy. A particular dress, a sort of uniform for the establishment, which, though very economical, as may be seen by the details which will be given of it in another place, was nevertheless elegant, was provided; and this dress, as it was given out *gratis*, and only bestowed upon those who particularly distinguished themselves, was
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soon looked upon as an honourable mark of approved merit; and served very powerfully to excite emulation among the competitors. I doubt whether vanity, in any instance, ever surveyed itself with more self-gratification, than did some of these poor people when they first put on their new drefs.

How necessary is it to be acquainted with the secret springs of action in the human heart, to direct even the lowest and most unfeeling class of mankind!—The machine is intrinsically the same in all situations;—the great secret is, *first to put it in tune*, before an attempt is made to play upon it. The jarring sounds of former vibrations must first be stilled, otherwise no harmony can be produced; but when the instrument is in order, the notes *cannot fail* to answer to the touch of a skilful master.

Though every thing was done that could be devised to impress the minds of all those, old and young, who frequented this establishment, with such sentiments as were necessary in order to their becoming good and useful members of society; (and in these attempts I was certainly successful, much beyond my most sanguine expectations;) yet my hopes were chiefly placed on the rising generation.

The children, therefore, of the poor, were objects of my peculiar care and attention. To induce their parents to send them to the establishment, even before they were old enough to do any kind of work, when they attended at the regular hours, they not only received their dinner *gratis*, but each of them was paid *three creutzers* a day for doing nothing, but merely being present where others worked.

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I have already mentioned that these children, who were too young to work, were placed upon seats built round the halls where other children worked. This was done in order to inspire them with a desire to do that, which other children, apparently more favoured,—more caressed,—and more praised than themselves, were permitted to do; and of which they were obliged to be idle spectators; and this had the desired effect.

As nothing is so tedious to a child as being obliged to sit still in the same place for a considerable time, and as the work which the other more favoured children were engaged in, was light and easy, and appeared rather amusing than otherwise, being the spinning of hemp and flax, with small light wheels, turned with the foot, these children, who were obliged to be spectators of this busy and entertaining scene, became so uneasy in their situations, and so jealous of those who were permitted to be more active, that they frequently solicited with the greatest importunity to be permitted to work, and often cried most heartily if this favour was not instantly granted them.

How sweet these tears were to me, can easily be imagined!

The joy they showed upon being permitted to descend from their benches, and mix with the working children below, was equal to the solicitude with which they had demanded that favour.

They were at first merely furnished with a wheel, which they turned for several days with the foot, without being permitted to attempt any thing further.

ther. As soon as they were become dexterous in this simple operation, and habit had made it so easy and familiar to them that the foot could continue its motion mechanically, without the assistance of the head;—till they could go on with their work, even though their attention was employed upon something else;—till they could answer questions, and converse freely with those about them upon indifferent subjects, without interrupting or embarrassing the regular motion of the wheel, then,—and not till then,—they were furnished with hemp or flax, and were taught to spin.

When they had arrived at a certain degree of dexterity in spinning hemp and flax, they were put to the spinning of wool; and this was always represented to them, and considered by them, as an honourable promotion. Upon this occasion they commonly received some public reward, a new shirt,—a pair of shoes,—or perhaps the uniform of the establishment, as an encouragement to them to persevere in their industrious habits.

As constant application to any occupation for too great a length of time is apt to produce disgust, and in children might even be detrimental to health, beside the hour of dinner, an hour of relaxation from work, (from eight o'clock till nine,) in the forenoon, and another hour, (from three o'clock till four,) in the afternoon, were allowed them; and these two hours were spent in a school; which, for want of room elsewhere in the house, was kept in the dining-hall, where they were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, by a school-

school-master engaged and paid for that purpose*. Into this school other persons who worked in the house, of a more advanced age, were admitted, if they requested it; but few grown persons seemed desirous of availing themselves of this permission. As to the children, they had no choice in the matter; those who belonged to the establishment were obliged to attend the school regularly every day, morning and evening. The school books, paper, pens, and ink, were furnished at the expence of the establishment.

To distinguish those among the grown persons that worked in the house, who shewed the greatest dexterity and industry in the different manufactures in which they were employed, the best workmen were separated from the others, and formed distinct classes, and were even assigned separate rooms and apartments. This separation was productive of many advantages; for, beside the spirit of emulation which it excited, and kept alive, in every part of the establishment, it afforded an opportunity of car-

* As these children were not shut up and confined like prisoners in the house of industry, but all lodged in the town, with their parents or friends, they had many opportunities to recreate themselves, and take exercise in the open air; not only on holidays, of which there are a very large number indeed kept in Bavaria; but also on working-days, in coming and going to and from the house of industry. Had not this been the case, a reasonable time would certainly have been allowed them for play and recreation. The cadets belonging to the Military Academy at Munich are allowed no less than *three hours* a day for exercise and relaxation, viz. *one hour* immediately after dinner, which is devoted to music, and *two hours*, later in the afternoon, for walking in the country, or playing in the open fields near the town.

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rying on the different manufactures in a very advantageous manner. The most dexterous among the wool-spinners, for instance, were naturally employed upon the finest wool, such as was used in the fabrication of the finest and most valuable goods ; and it was very necessary that these spinners should be separated from the others, who worked upon coarser materials ; otherwise, in the manipulations of the wool, as particles of it are unavoidably dispersed about in all directions when it is spun, the coarser particles thus mixing with the fine would greatly injure the manufacture. It was likewise necessary, for a similar reason, to separate the spinners who were employed in spinning wool of different colours. But as these, and many other like precautions are well known to all manufacturers, it is not necessary that I should insist upon them any farther in this place ; nor indeed is it necessary that I should enter into all the details of any of the manufactures carried on in the establishment I am describing. It will be quite sufficient, if I merely enumerate them, and give a brief account of the measures adopted to prevent frauds on the parts of the workmen, and others, who were employed in carrying them on.

In treating this subject it will however be necessary to go back a little, and to give a more particular account of the internal government of this establishment ; and first of all I must observe, that the government of the *Military Work-house*, as it is called, is quite distinct from the government of the institution for the poor ; the *Work-house* being
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merely a manufactory, like any other manufactory, supported upon its own private capital; which capital has no connection whatever with any fund destined for the poor.—It is under the sole direction of its own particular governors and overseers, and is carried on at the sole risk of the owner. *The institution for the poor*, on the other hand, is merely an institution of charity, joined to a general direction of the police, as far as it relates to paupers. The committee, or *deputation*, as it is called, which is at the head of this institution, has the sole direction of all funds destined for the relief of the poor in Munich, and the distribution of alms. This deputation has likewise the direction of the kitchen, and bake-house, which are established in the Military Work-house; and of the details relative to the feeding of the poor; for it is from the funds destined for the relief of the poor that these expences are defrayed: the deputation is also in connection with the Military Work-house relative to the clothing of the poor, and the distribution of rewards to those of them who particularly distinguished themselves by their good behaviour and their industry, but this is merely a mercantile correspondence. The deputation has no right to interfere in any way whatever in the internal management of this establishment, considered as a manufactory. In this respect it is to all intents and purposes a perfectly distinct and independent establishment.—But notwithstanding this, the two establishments are so dependent on each other in many respects, that neither of them could well subsist alone.

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The Military Work-house being principally designed as a manufactory for clothing the army, its capital, which at first consisted in about 150,000 florins, but which has since increased to above 250,000 florins, was advanced by the military chest; and hence it is, that it was called *the Military Work-house*, and put under the direction of the council of war.

For the internal management of the establishment, a special commission was named, consisting of, one counsellor of war, of the department of military economy, or of the clothing of the army;—one captain, which last is inspector of the house, and has apartments in it, where he lodges;—and the store-keeper of the magazine of military clothing.

These commissioners, who have the magazine of military clothing at the same time under their direction, have, under my immediate superintendence, the sole government and direction of this establishment;—of all the inferior officers;—servants;—manufacturers;—and workmen, belonging to it; and of all mercantile operations;—contracts;—purchases;—sales, &c. And it is with these commissioners that the regiments correspond, in order to be furnished with clothing, and other necessities; and into their hands they pay the amount of the different articles received.

The cash belonging to this establishment is placed in a chest furnished with three separate locks, of one of which each of the commissioners keeps the key; and all these commissioners are jointly, and severally, answerable for the contents of the chest.

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These commissioners hold their sessions regularly twice a week, or oftener if circumstances require it, in a room in the Military Work-house destined for that purpose, where the correspondence, and all accounts and documents belonging to the establishment, and other records, are kept; and where the secretary of the commission constantly attends.

When very large contracts are made for the purchase of raw materials, particularly when they are made with foreigners, the conditions are first submitted by the commissioners to the council of war for their approbation; but in all concerns of less moment, and particularly in all the current business of the establishment;—in the ordinary purchases,—sales,—and other mercantile transactions;—the commissioners act by their own immediate authority: but all the transactions of the commissioners *being entered regularly in their journals*, and the most particular account of all sales, and purchases, and other receipts and expenditures being kept; and inventories being taken every year, of all raw materials;—manufactures upon hand;—and other effects, belonging to the establishment; and an annual account of profit and loss, regularly made out; all peculation, and other abuses, are most effectually prevented.

The steward, or *store-keeper of raw materials*, as he is called, has the care of all raw materials, and of all finished manufactures destined for private sale. The former are kept in magazines, or store-rooms, of which he alone has the keys,—the latter are kept in

in rooms set apart as a store,—or shop,—where they are exposed for public inspection, and sale.—To prevent abuses in the sale of these manufactures, their prices, which are determined upon a calculation of what they cost, and a certain *per cent.* added for the profits of the house, are marked upon the goods, and are never altered; and a regular account is kept of all, even of the most inconsiderable articles sold, in which not only the commodity, with its quality, quantity, and price, is specified; but the name of the purchaser, and the day of the month when the purchase was made, are mentioned.

All articles of clothing destined for the army which are made up in the house; as well as all goods in the piece, destined for military clothing, are lodged in the Military Magazine; which is situated at some distance from the Military Work-house; and is under the care and inspection of the Military store-keeper.

From this Military Magazine, which may be considered as an appendix to the Military Work-house, and is in fact under the same direction, the regiments are supplied with every article of their clothing. But in order that the army accounts may be more simple, and more easily checked, and that the total annual expence of each regiment may be more readily ascertained, the regiments pay, at certain fixed prices, for all the articles they receive from the Military Magazine, and charge such expenditures in the annual account which they send in to the War Office.

The order observed with regard to the delivery of the raw materials by the store-keeper or steward of the Military Work-house to those employed in manufacturing them, is as follows :

In the manufactures of wool, for instance, he delivers to the master-clothier a certain quantity, commonly 100 pounds, of wool, of a certain quality and description ; taken from a certain division, or bin, in the Magazine ; bearing a certain number ; in order to its being sorted. And as a register is kept of the wool that is put into these bins from time to time, and as the lots of wool are always kept separate, it is perfectly easy at any time to determine when,—and where,—and from whom, the wool delivered to the sorter was purchased ; and what was paid for it ; and consequently, to trace the wool from the flock where it was grown, to the cloth into which it was formed ; and even to the person who wore it. And similar arrangements are adopted with regard to all other raw materials used in the various manufactures.

The advantages arising from this arrangement are too obvious to require being particularly mentioned. It not only prevents numberless abuses on the part of those employed in the various manufactures, but affords a ready method of detecting any frauds on the part of those from whom the raw materials are purchased.

The wool received by the master-clothier is by him delivered to the wool-sorters to be sorted. To prevent frauds on the part of the wool-sorters, not only

only all the wool-sorters work in the same room, under the immediate inspection of the master wool-sorter, but a certain quantity of each lot of wool being sorted in the presence of some one of the public officers belonging to the house, it is seen by the experiment how much *per cent.* is lost by the separation of dirt and filth in sorting; and the quantity of sorted wool of the different qualities, which the sorter is obliged to deliver for each *hundred pounds* weight of wool received from the magazine, is from hence determined.

The great secret of the woollen manufactory is in the sorting of the wool, and if this is not particularly attended to; that is to say, if the different kinds of wool of various qualities which each fleece naturally contains, are not carefully separated; and if each kind of wool is not employed for that purpose, and *for that alone*, for which it is best calculated, no woollen manufactory can possibly subsist with advantage.

Each fleece is commonly separated into five or six different parcels of wool, of different qualities, by the sorters in the Military Work-house; and of these parcels, some are employed for warp;—others for woof;—others for combing;—and that which is very coarse and indifferent, for coarse mittens for the peasants;—for the lists of broad cloths, &c.

The wool, when sorted, is delivered back by the master-clothier to the steward, who now places it in the *sorted-wool magazine*, where it is kept in separate bins, according to its different qualities
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and destinations, till it is delivered out to be manufactured. As these bins are all numbered, and as the quality and destination of the wool which is lodged in each bin is always the same, it is sufficient in describing the wool afterwards as it passes through the hands of the different manufacturers, merely to mention *its number*; that is to say, the number of the bin in the *sorted-wool-magazine* from whence it was taken.

As a more particular account of these various manipulations, and the means used to prevent frauds, may not only be interesting to all who are curious in these matters, but may also be of real use to such as may engage in similar undertakings, I shall take the liberty to enlarge a little upon this subject.

From the magazine of sorted wool, the master-clothier receives this sorted wool again, in order to its being wolfed,—greased,—carded,—and spun, under his inspection, and then delivered into the store-room of woollen yarn. As woollen yarn he receives it again, and delivers it to the cloth-weaver.—The cloth-weaver returns it in cloth to the steward.—The steward delivers it to the fuller;—the fuller to the cloth-shearer;—the cloth-shearer to the cloth-presser;—and the cloth-presser to the steward;—and by this last it is delivered into the Military Magazine, if destined for the army; if not, it is placed in the shop for sale. The master-clothier is answerable for all the sorted wool he receives, till he delivers it to the clerk of the wool-spinners; and all his accounts are settled with the steward once a week.—The clerk of the spinners is answerable for
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the carded and combed wool he receives from the master-clothier, till it is delivered in yarn in the store-room; and his accounts are likewise settled with the master-clothier, and with the clerk of the store-room, (who is called the clerk of the controul,) once a week. The spinners wages are paid by the clerk of the controul, upon the spin-ticket, signed by the clerk of the spinners; in which ticket, the quantity, and quality of the yarn spun being specified, together with the name of the spinner, the weekly delivery of yarn by the clerk of the spinners into the store-room, must answer to the spin-tickets received and paid by the clerk of the controul. More effectually to prevent frauds, each delivery of yarn to the clerk of the spinners is bound up in a separate bundle, to which is attached an abstract of the spin-ticket, in which abstract is specified, the name of the spinner;—the date of the delivery;—the number of the spin-ticket;—and the quantity and quality of the yarn. This arrangement not only facilitates the settlement of the weekly accounts between the clerk of the spinners and the clerk of the controul, when the former makes his weekly delivery of yarn into the store-room, but renders it easy also to detect any frauds committed by the spinners.

The wages of the spinners are regulated by the fineness of the yarn; that is, by the number of skains, or rather knots, which they spin from the pound of wool. Each knot is composed of 100 threads, and each thread, or turn of the reel, is two Bavarian yards in length; and to prevent frauds in reeling, clock-reels, proved and sealed, are furnished by the

establishment to all the spinners. It is possible, however, notwithstanding this precaution, for the spinners to commit frauds, by binding up knots containing a smaller number of threads than 100.—It is true they have little temptation to do so, for as their wages are in fact paid by the *weight* of the yarn delivered, and the number of knots serving merely to determine the price *by the pound* which they have a right to receive, any advantages they can derive from frauds committed in reeling are very trifling indeed. But trifling as they are, such frauds would no doubt sometimes be committed, were it not known that it is absolutely *impossible* for them to escape detection.

Not only the clerk of the spinners examines the yarn when he receives it, and counts the threads in any of the knots which appear to be too small, but the name of the spinner, with a note of the quantity of knots, accompanies the yarn into the store-room, as was before observed, and from thence to the spooler, by whom it is wound off; any frauds committed in reeling cannot fail to be brought home to the spinner.

The bundles of carded wool delivered to the spinners, though they are called *pounds*, are not exact pounds. They contain each as much more than a pound, as is necessary, allowing for wastage in spinning, in order that the yarn when spun may weigh a pound. If the yarn is found to be wanting in weight, a proportional deduction is made from the wages of the spinner; which deduction, to prevent frauds, amounts to a trifle more than the value of the yarn which is wanting.

Frauds in weaving are prevented by delivering the yarn to the weavers by weight, and receiving the cloth by weight from the loom. In the other operations of the manufactures, such as fulling, shearing, pressing, &c. no frauds are to be apprehended.

Similar precautions are taken to prevent frauds in the linen ;—cotton ;—and other manufactures carried on in the house ; and so effectual are the means adopted, that during more than five years since the establishment was instituted, no one fraud of the least consequence has been discovered ; the evident impossibility of escaping detection in those practices, having prevented the attempt.

Though the above-mentioned details may be sufficient to give some idea of the general order which reigns in every part of this extensive establishment ; yet, as success in an undertaking of this kind depends essentially on carrying on the business in all its various branches in the most methodical manner, and rendering one operation a check upon the other, as well as in making the persons employed absolutely responsible for all frauds and neglects committed in their various departments, I shall either add in the Appendix, or publish separately, a full account of the internal details of the various trades and manufactures carried on in the Military Work-house, and copies of all the different tickets,—returns,—tables,—accounts, &c. made use of in carrying on the business of this establishment.

Though these accounts will render this work more voluminous than I could have wished, yet, as such details can hardly fail to be very useful to those,

those, who, either upon a larger, or smaller scale, may engage in similar undertakings, I have determined to publish them.

To show that the regulations observed in carrying on the various trades and manufactures in the Military Work-house are good, it will, I flatter myself, be quite sufficient to refer to the flourishing state of the establishment; to its growing reputation;—to its extensive connections, which reach even to foreign countries;—to the punctuality with which all its engagements are fulfilled;—to its unimpeached credit;—and to its growing wealth.

Notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which it laboured in its infant state, the net profits arising from it during the six years it has existed, amount to above 100,000 florins; after the expences of every kind,—salaries,—wages,—repairs, &c. have been deducted; and the business is so much increased of late, in consequence of the augmentation of the demands of clothing for the troops, that the amount of the orders received and executed the last year, did not fall much short of *half a million* of florins.

It may be proper to observe, that, not the whole army of the Elector, but only the fifteen Bavarian regiments, are furnished with clothing from the Military Work-house at Munich. The troops of the Palatinate, and those of the Duchies of Juliers and Bergen, receive their clothing from a similar establishment at Manheim.

The Military Work-house at Manheim was indeed erected several months before that at Munich; but as it is not immediately connected with any institution

stitution for the poor,—as the poor are not fed in it,—and as it was my first attempt, or *coup d'essai*,—it is, in many respects, inferior in its internal arrangements to that at Munich. I have therefore chosen this last for the subject of my descriptions; and would propose it as a model for imitation, in preference to the other.

As both these establishments owe their existence to myself, and as they both remain under my immediate superintendence, it may very naturally be asked, why that at Manheim has not been put upon the same footing with that at Munich?—My answer to this question would be, that a variety of circumstances, too foreign to my present subject to be explained here, prevented the establishment of the Military Work-house at Manheim being carried to that perfection which I could have wished*.

But it is time that I should return to the poor of Munich; for whose comfort and happiness I laboured with so much pleasure, and whose history will ever remain by far the most interesting part of this publication.

* Since the publication of the first edition of this Essay, the Author has received an account of the total destruction of the Military Work-house at Manheim. It was set on fire, and burnt to the ground, during the late siege of that city by the Austrian troops.

C H A P. VII

A farther Account of the Poor who were brought together in the House of Industry:—And of the interesting Change which was produced in their Manners and Dispositions.—Various Proofs that the Means used for making them industrious, comfortable, and happy, were successful.

THE awkwardness of these poor creatures, when they were first taken from the streets as beggars, and put to work, may easily be conceived; but the facility with which they acquired address in the various manufactures in which they were employed, was very remarkable, and much exceeded my expectation. But what was quite surprising, and at the same time interesting in the highest degree, was the apparent and rapid change which was produced in their manners,—in their general behaviour,—and even in the very air of their countenances, upon being a little accustomed to their new situations. The kind usage they met with, and the comforts they enjoyed, seemed to have softened their hearts, and awakened in them sentiments as new and surprising to themselves, as they were interesting to those about them.

The melancholy gloom of misery, and air of uneasiness and embarrassment, disappeared by little and little from their countenances, and were succeeded

ceeded by a timid dawn of cheerfulness, rendered most exquisitely interesting by a certain mixture of silent gratitude, which no language can describe.

In the infancy of this establishment, when these poor creatures were first brought together, I used very frequently to visit them,—to speak kindly to them,—and to encourage them; and I seldom passed through the halls where they were at work, without being a witness to the most moving scenes.

Objects, formerly the most miserable and wretched, whom I had seen for years as beggars in the streets;—young women,—perhaps the unhappy victims of seduction, who, having lost their reputation, and being turned adrift in the world, without a friend and without a home, were reduced to the necessity of begging, to sustain a miserable existence, now recognized me as their benefactor; and, with tears dropping fast from their cheeks, continued their work in the most expressive silence.

If they were asked, what the matter was with them? their answer was, (“nichts”) “nothing;” accompanied by a look of affectionate regard and gratitude, so exquisitely touching as frequently to draw tears from the most insensible of the bystanders.

It was not possible to be mistaken with respect to the real state of the minds of these poor people; every thing about them showed that they were deeply affected with the kindness shewn them;—and that their hearts were really softened, appeared, not only from their unaffected expressions of gratitude, but also from the effusions of their affectionate

tionate regard for those who were dear to them. In short, never did I witness such affecting scenes as passed between some of these poor people and their children.

It was mentioned above that the children were separated from the grown persons. This was the case at first; but as soon as order was thoroughly established in every part of the house, and the poor people had acquired a certain degree of address in their work, and evidently took pleasure in it, as many of those who had children expressed an earnest desire to have them near them, permission was granted for that purpose; and the spinning halls, by degrees, were filled with the most interesting little groups of industrious families; who vied with each other in diligence and address; and who displayed a scene, at once the most busy, and the most cheerful, that can be imagined.

An industrious family is ever a pleasing object; but there was something peculiarly interesting and affecting in the groups of these poor people. Whether it was, that those who saw them compared their present situation with the state of misery and wretchedness from which they had been taken;—or whether it was the joy and exultation which were expressed in the countenances of the poor parents in contemplating their children all busily employed about them;—or the air of self-satisfaction which these little urchins put on, at the consciousness of their own dexterity, while they pursued their work with redoubled diligence upon being observed, that rendered the scene so singularly interesting,—I know not;

not; but certain it is, that few strangers who visited the establishment, came out of these halls without being much affected.

Many humane and well-disposed persons are often withheld from giving alms, on account of the bad character of beggars in general; but this circumstance, though it ought undoubtedly to be taken into consideration in determining the mode of administering our charitable assistance, should certainly not prevent our interesting ourselves in the fate of these unhappy beings. On the contrary, it ought to be an additional incitement to us to relieve them;—for nothing is more certain, than that their crimes are very often the *effects*, not the *causes* of their misery; and when this is the case, by removing the cause, the effects will cease.

Nothing is more extraordinary and unaccountable, than the inconsistency of mankind in every thing; even in the practice of that divine virtue benevolence; and most of our mistakes arise more from indolence and from inattention, than from any thing else. The busy part of mankind are too intent upon their own private pursuits; and those who have leisure, are too averse from giving themselves trouble, to investigate a subject but too generally considered as tiresome and uninteresting. But if it be true, that we are really happy only in proportion as we ought to be so;—that is, in proportion as we are instrumental in promoting the happiness of others; no study surely can be so interesting, as that which teaches us how most effectually

ually to contribute to the well-being of our fellow-creatures.

If *love* be blind, *self-love* is certainly very short-sighted; and without the assistance of reason and reflection, is but a bad guide in the pursuit of happiness.

Those who take pleasure in depreciating all the social virtues have represented pity as a mere selfish passion; and there are some circumstances which appear to justify this opinion. It is certain that the misfortunes of others affect us, not in proportion to their greatness, but in proportion to their nearness to ourselves; or to the chances that they may reach us in our turns. A rich man is infinitely more affected at the misfortunes of his neighbour, who, by the failure of a banker with whom he had trusted the greater part of his fortune;—by an unlucky run at play,—or by other losses, is reduced from a state of affluence, to the necessity of laying down his carriage;—leaving the town;—and retiring into the country upon a few hundreds a-year—than by the total ruin of the industrious tradesman over the way, who is dragged to prison, and his numerous family of young and helpless children left to starve.

But however selfish pity may be, *benevolence* certainly springs from a more noble origin. It is a good-natured,—generous sentiment, which does not require being put to the torture in order to be stimulated to action. And it is this sentiment, not pity, or compassion, which I would wish to excite.

Pity

Pity is always attended with pain; and if our sufferings at being witnesses of the distresses of others, sometimes force us to relieve them, we can neither have much merit, nor any lasting satisfaction, from such involuntary acts of charity; but the enjoyments which result from acts of genuine benevolence are as lasting as they are exquisitely delightful; and the more they are analyzed and contemplated, the more they contribute to that inward peace of mind and self approbation, which alone constitute real happiness. This is the "soul's calm sun-shine, and the heart-felt joy," which is virtue's prize.

To induce mankind to engage in any enterprise, it is necessary, first, to shew that success will be attended with real advantage; and secondly, that it may be obtained without much difficulty. The rewards attendant upon acts of benevolence have so often been described and celebrated, in every country and in every language, that it would be presumption in me to suppose I could add any thing new upon a subject already discussed by the greatest masters of rhetoric, and embellished with all the irresistible charms of eloquence; but as *examples of success* are sometimes more efficacious in stimulating mankind to action, than the most splendid reasonings and admonitions, it is upon my *success* in the enterprise of which I have undertaken to give an account, that my hopes of engaging others to follow such an example are chiefly founded; and hence it is, that I so often return to that part of my subject, and insist with so much perseverance

preservance upon the pleasure which this success afforded me. I am aware that I expose myself to being suspected of ostentation, particularly by those who are not able to enter fully into my situation and feelings; but neither this, nor any other consideration, shall prevent me from treating the subject in such a manner as may appear best adapted to render my labours of public utility.

Why should I not mention even the marks of affectionate regard and respect which I received from the poor people for whose happiness I interested myself, and the testimonies of the public esteem with which I was honoured?—Will it be reckoned vanity, if I mention the concern which the Poor of Munich expressed in so affecting a manner when I was dangerously ill?—that they went publicly in a body in procession to the cathedral church, where they had divine service performed, and put up public prayers for my recovery?—that four years afterwards, on hearing that I was again dangerously ill at Naples, they, of their own accord, set apart an hour each evening, after they had finished their work in the Military Work-house, to pray for me?

Will it be thought improper to mention the affecting reception I met with from them, at my first visit to the Military Work-house upon my return to Munich last summer, after an absence of fifteen months; a scene which drew tears from all who were present?—and must I refuse myself the satisfaction of describing the fête I gave them in return, in the English Garden, at which 1800 poor people
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all ages, and above 30,000 of the inhabitants of Munich, assisted? and all this pleasure I must forego, merely that I may not be thought vain and ostentatious?—Be it so then;—but I would just beg leave to call the reader's attention to my feelings upon the occasion; and then let him ask himself, if any earthly reward can possibly be supposed greater;—any enjoyments more complete, than those I received. Let him figure to himself, if he can, my situation, sick in bed, worn out by intense application, and dying, as every body thought, a martyr in the cause to which I had devoted myself;—let him imagine, I say, my feelings, upon hearing the confused noise of the prayers of a multitude of people, who were passing by in the streets, upon being told, that it was the Poor of Munich, many hundreds in number, who were going in procession to the church to put up public prayers for me:—public prayers for me!—for a private person!—a stranger!—a protestant!—I believe it is the first instance of the kind that ever happened;—and I dare venture to affirm that no proof could well be stronger than this, that the measures adopted for making these poor people happy, were really successful;—and let it be remembered, *that this fact is what I am most anxious to make appear*, IN THE clearest AND MOST SATISFACTORY MANNER.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Means used for the Relief of those poor Persons who were not Beggars.—Of the large Sums of Money distributed to the Poor in Alms—Of the Means used for rendering those who received Alms industrious.—Of the general Utility of the House of Industry to the Poor, and the Distressed of all Denominations.—Of Public Kitchens for feeding the Poor, united with Establishments for giving them Employment ; and of the great Advantages which would be derived from forming them in every Parish.—Of the Manner in which the Poor of Munich are lodged.

IN giving an account of the Poor of Munich, I have hitherto confined myself chiefly to one class of them,—the beggars ; but I shall now proceed to mention briefly the measures which were adopted to relieve others, who never were beggars, from those distresses and difficulties in which poverty and the inability to provide the necessaries of life had involved them.

An establishment for the Poor should not only provide for the relief and support of those who are most forward and clamorous in calling out for assistance ;—humanity and justice require that peculiar attention should be paid to those who are bashful
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and silent.—To those, who in addition to all the distresses arising from poverty and want, feel what is still more insupportable, the shame and mortifying degradation attached to their unfortunate and hopeless situation.

All those who stood in need of assistance were invited and encouraged to make known their wants to the committee placed at the head of the institution; and in no case was the necessary assistance refused.—That this relief was generously bestowed, will not be doubted by those who are informed that the sums distributed in alms, *in ready money* to the Poor of Munich in *five years*, exclusive of the expences incurred in feeding and cloathing them, amounted to above *two hundred thousand florins*.*

But the sums of money distributed among the Poor in alms was not the only, and perhaps not the most important assistance that was given them.—*They were taught and encouraged to be industrious*; and they probably derived more essential advantages from the fruits of their industry, than from all the charitable donations they received.

All who were able to earn any thing by their labour, were furnished with work, and effectual measures taken to excite them to be industrious.—In fixing the amount of the sums in money, which they receive weekly upon stated days, care was always taken to find out how much the person applying for relief was in a condition to earn, and only just so much was granted,

* Above 18,000 pounds sterling.

as; when added to these earnings, would be sufficient to provide the necessaries of life, or such of them as were not otherwise furnished by the institution.—But even this precaution would not alone have been sufficient to have obliged those who were disposed to be idle, to become industrious; for, with the assistance of the small allowances which were granted, they might have found means, by stealing, or other fraudulent practices, to have subsisted without working, and the sums allowed them would only have served as an encouragement to idleness.—This evil, which is always much to be apprehended in establishments for the Poor, and which is always most fatal in its consequences, is effectually prevented at Munich by the following simple arrangement:—A long and narrow slip of paper, upon which is printed, between parallel lines, in two or more columns, all the weeks in the year, or rather the month, and the day of the month, when each week begins, is, in the beginning of every year, given to each poor person entitled to receive alms; and the name of the person,—with the number his name bears in the general list of the Poor;—the weekly sum granted to him,—and the sum he is able to earn weekly by labour, are entered in writing at the head of this list of the weeks.—This paper, which must always be produced by the poor person as often as he applies for his weekly allowance of alms, serves to shew whether he has, or has not fulfilled the conditions upon which the allowance was granted him;—that is to say, whether he

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has been industrious, and has earned by his labour, and received, the sum he ought to earn weekly.— This fact is ascertained in the following manner:— when the poor person frequents the house of industry regularly, or when he works at home, and delivers regularly at the end of every week, the produce of the labour he is expected to perform; when he has thus fulfilled the conditions imposed on him, the column, or rather parallel, in his paper, (which may be called his certificate of industry,) answering to the week in question, is marked with a stamp, kept for that purpose at the Military Work-house; or, if he should be prevented by illness, or any other accident, from fulfilling those conditions, in that case, instead of the stamp, the week must be marked by the signature of the commissary of the district to which the poor person belongs.—But, if the certificate be not marked, either by the stamp of the house of industry, or by the signature of the commissary of the district, the allowance for the week in question is not issued.

It is easy to be imagined how effectually this arrangement must operate as a check to idleness.— But, not satisfied with discouraging and punishing idleness, we have endeavoured, by all the means in our power, and more especially by rewards and honorable distinctions of every kind, to encourage extraordinary exertions of industry.—Such of the Poor who earn more in the week than the sum imposed on them, are rewarded by extraordinary presents, in money, or in some useful and valuable article of clothing; or they are particularly remem-

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bered at the next public distribution of money, which is made twice a year to the Poor, to assist them in paying their house-rent: and so far is this from being made a pretext for diminishing their weekly allowance of alms, that it is rather considered as a reason for augmenting them.

There are great numbers of persons, of various descriptions, in all places, and particularly in great towns, who, though they find means just to support life, and have too much feeling ever to submit to the disgrace of becoming a burthen upon the public, are yet very unhappy, and consequently objects highly deserving of the commiseration and friendly aid of the humane and generous.—It is hardly possible to imagine a situation more truly deplorable than that of a person born to better prospects, reduced by unmerited misfortunes to poverty, and doomed to pass his whole life in one continued and hopeless struggle with want, shame, and despair.

Any relief which it is possible to afford to distress that appears under this respectable and most interesting form, ought surely never to be withheld.—But the greatest care and precaution are necessary in giving assistance to those who have been rendered irritable and suspicious by misfortunes, and who have too much honest pride not to feel themselves degraded by accepting an obligation they never can hope to repay.

The establishment of the house of industry at Munich has been a means of affording very essential relief to many distressed families, and single

persons in indigent circumstances, who, otherwise, most probably never would have received any assistance.—Many persons of distinguished birth, and particularly widows and unmarried ladies with very small fortunes, frequently send privately to this house for raw materials,—flax or wool,—which they spin, and return in yarn,—linen for soldiers' shirts, which they make up, &c. and receive in money, (commonly through the hands of a maid-servant, who is employed as a messenger upon these occasions) the amount of the wages at the ordinary price paid by the manufactory, for the labour performed.

Many a common soldier in the Elector's service, wears shirts made up privately by the delicate hands of persons who were never seen publicly to be employed in such coarse work;—and many a comfortable meal has been made in the town of Munich, in private, by persons accustomed to more sumptuous fare, upon the soup destined for the Poor, and furnished *gratis* from the public kitchen of the house of industry. Many others who stand in need of assistance, will, in time, I hope, get the better of their pride, and avail themselves of these advantages.

To render this establishment for the Poor at Munich perfect, something is still wanting.—The house of industry is too remote from the center of the town, and many of the Poor live at such a distance from it, that much time is lost in going and returning.—It is situated, it is true, nearly in the center of the district in which most of the Poor inhabit,

inhabit, but still there are many who do not derive all the advantages from it they otherwise would do were it adjacent to their dwellings. The only way to remedy this imperfection would be, to establish several smaller public kitchens in different parts of the town, with two or three rooms adjoining to each, where the Poor might work.—They might then either fetch the raw materials from the principal house of industry, or be furnished with them by the persons who superintend those subordinate kitchens; and who might serve at the same time as stewards and inspectors of the working rooms, under the direction and control of the officers who are placed at the head of the general establishment. This arrangement is in contemplation, and will be put in execution as soon as convenient houses can be procured and fitted up for the purpose.

In large cities, these public kitchens, and rooms adjoining to them for working, should be established in every parish; and, it is scarcely to be conceived how much this arrangement would contribute to the comfort and contentment of the Poor, and to the improvement of their morals. These working rooms might be fitted up with neatness; and even with elegance; and made perfectly warm, clean, and comfortable, at a very small expence; and, if nothing were done to disgust the Poor, either by treating them harshly, or using *force* to oblige them to frequent these establishments, they would soon avail themselves of the advantages held out

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to them; and the tranquillity they would enjoy in these peaceful retreats, would, by degrees, calm the agitation of their minds,—remove their suspicions,—and render them happy,—grateful, and docile.

Though it might not be possible to provide any other lodgings for them than the miserable barracks they now occupy, yet, as they might spend the whole of the day, from morning till late at night, in these public rooms, and have no occasion to return to their homes till bed-time, they would not experience much inconvenience from the badness of the accommodation at their own dwellings.

Should any be attacked with sickness, they might be sent to some hospital, or rooms be provided for them, as well as for the old and infirm, adjacent to the public working rooms. Certain hours might also be set apart for instructing the children, daily, in reading and writing, in the dining-hall, or in some other room convenient for that purpose.

The expence of forming such an establishment in every parish would not be great, in the first out-set, and the advantages derived from it would very soon repay that expence, with interest.—The Poor might be fed from a public kitchen for *less than half* what it would cost them to feed themselves;—they would turn their industry to better account, by working in a public establishment, and under proper direction, than by working at home;—a spirit of emulation would be excited among them, and they would pass their time more agreeably and cheerfully.—They would be entirely relieved from the heavy
expence

expence of fuel for cooking; and, in a great measure, from that for heating their dwellings; and, being seldom at home in the day-time, would want little more than a place to sleep in; so that the expence of lodging might be greatly diminished.—It is evident, that all these savings together would operate very powerfully to lessen the public expence for the maintenance of the Poor; and, were proper measures adopted, and pursued with care and perseverance, I am persuaded the expence would at last be reduced to little or nothing.

With regard to lodgings for the Poor, I am clearly of opinion that it is in general best, particularly in great towns, that these should be left for themselves to provide. This they certainly would like better than being crowded together, and confined like prisoners in poor-houses and hospitals; and I really think the difference in the expence would be inconsiderable; and though they might be less comfortably accommodated, yet the inconvenience would be amply compensated *by the charms which liberty dispenses.*

In Munich, almost all the Poor provide their own lodgings; and twice a year have certain allowances in money, to assist them in paying their rent.—Many among them who are single, have indeed, no lodgings they can call their own. They go to certain public-houses to sleep, where they are furnished with what is called a bed, in a garret, for one creutzer, (equal to about one-third of a penny,) a-night; and for two creutzers a-night they get a place in a tolerably

tolerably good bed in a decent room in a public-house of more repute.

There are, however, among the Poor, many who are infirm, and not able to shift for themselves in the public-houses, and have not families, or near relations, to take care of them. For these a particular arrangement has lately been made at Munich. Such of them as have friends or acquaintances in town with whom they can lodge, are permitted to do so; but if they cannot find out lodgings themselves, they have their option, either to be placed in some private family to be taken care of, or go to a house which has lately been purchased and fitted up as an hospital for lodging them*.

This house is situated in a fine airy situation, on a small eminence upon the banks of the Isar, and overlooks the whole town;—the plain in which it is situated;—and the river.—It is neatly built, and has a spacious garden belonging to it. There are seventeen good rooms in the house; in which it is supposed about eighty persons may be lodged. These will all be fed from one kitchen; and such of them who are very infirm, will have others less infirm placed in the same room with them, to assist them, and wait upon them.—The cultivation of the garden will be their amusement,

* The committee, at the head of the establishment, has been enabled to make this purchase, by legacies made to the institution. These legacies have been numerous, and are increasing every day; which clearly shews, that the measures adopted with regard to the Poor have met with the approbation of the public.

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and the produce of it their property.—They will be furnished with work suitable to their strength; and for all the labour they perform, will be paid in money, which will be left at their own disposal.—They will be furnished with food, medicine, and clothing, *gratis*; and to those who are not able to earn any thing by labour, a small sum of money will be given weekly, to enable them to purchase tobacco, snuff, or any other article of humble luxury to which they may have been accustomed.

I could have wished that this asylum had been nearer to the house of industry. It is indeed not very far from it, perhaps not more than 400 yards; but still that is too far. Had it been under the same roof, or adjoining to it, those who are lodged in it might have been fed from the public kitchen of the general establishment, and have been under the immediate inspection of the principal officers of the house of industry. It would likewise have rendered the establishment very interesting to those who visit it; which is an object of more real importance than can well be imagined by those who have not had occasion to know how much the approbation and applause of the public facilitate difficult enterprises.

The means of uniting the rational amusement of society, with the furtherance of schemes calculated for the promotion of public good, is a subject highly deserving the attention of all who are engaged in public affairs.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Means used for extending the Influence of the Institution for the Poor at Munich, to other Parts of Bavaria.—Of the Progress which some of the Improvements introduced at Munich are making in other Countries.

THOUGH the institution of which I have undertaken to give an account, was confined to the city of Munich and its suburbs, yet measures were taken to extend its influence to all parts of the country. The attempt to put an end to mendicity in the capital, and to give employment to the Poor, having been completely successful, this event was formally announced to the public, in the newspapers; and other towns were called upon to follow the example. Not only a narrative in detail, was given of all the different measures pursued in this important undertaking, but every kind of information and assistance was afforded on the part of the institution at Munich, to all who might be disposed to engage in forming similar establishments in other parts of the country.

Copies of all the different lists, returns, certificates, &c. used in the management of the Poor, were given *gratis* to all, strangers as well as inhabitants of the country, who applied for them; and no information

information relative to the establishment, or to any of its details, was ever refused.

The house of industry was open every day from morning till night to all visitors; and persons were appointed to accompany strangers in their tour through the different apartments, and to give the fullest information relative to the details, and even to all the secrets of the various manufactures carried on; and printed copies of the different tables, tickets, checks, &c. made use of in carrying on the current business of the house, were furnished to every one who asked for them; together with an account of the manner in which these were used, and of the other measures adopted to prevent frauds and speculations in the various branches of this extensive establishment.

As few manufactures in Bavaria are carried on to any extent, the more indigent of the inhabitants are, in general, so totally unacquainted with every kind of work in which the Poor could be most usefully employed, that that circumstance alone is a great obstacle to the general introduction throughout the country of the measures adopted in Munich for employing the Poor. To remove this difficulty, the different towns and communities who are desirous of forming establishments for giving employment to the Poor, are invited to send persons properly qualified to the house of industry at Munich, where they may be taught, *gratis*, spinning, in its various branches; knitting; sewing, &c. in order
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to qualify them to become instructors to the Poor on their return home. And even instructors already formed, and possessing all the requisite qualifications for such an office, are offered to be furnished by the house of industry in Munich to such communities as shall apply for them.

Another difficulty, apparently not less weighty than that just mentioned, but which is more easily and more effectually removed, is the embarrassment many of the smaller communities are likely to be under : procuring raw materials, and in selling to advantage the goods manufactured, or, (as is commonly the case,) *in part only manufactured*, by the Poor. The yarn, for instance, which is spun by them in a country-town or village, far removed from any manufacture of cloth, may lie on hand a long time before it can be sold to advantage. To remedy this, the house of industry at Munich is ordered to furnish raw materials to such communities as shall apply for them, and receive in return the goods manufactured, at the full prices paid for the same articles in Munich. Not only these measures, and many others of a similar nature, are taken, to facilitate the introduction of industry among the Poor throughout the country ; but every encouragement is held out to induce individuals to exert themselves in this laudable undertaking. Those communities which are the first to follow the example of the capital, are honourably mentioned in the newspapers ; and such individuals as dis-

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tinguish themselves by their zeal and activity upon those occasions, are praised and rewarded.

A worthy curate, (Mr. Lechner,) preacher in one of the churches in Munich, who, of his own accord, had taken upon himself to defend the measures adopted with regard to the Poor, and to recommend them in the most earnest manner from the pulpit, was sent for by the Elector into his closet, and thanked for his exertions.

This transaction being immediately made known, (an account of it having been published in the newspapers,) tended not a little to engage the clergy in all parts of the country to exert themselves in support of the institution.

It is not my intention to insinuate that the clergy in Bavaria stood in need of any such motive to stimulate them to action in a cause so important to the happiness and well-being of mankind, and consequently so nearly connected with the sacred duties of their office;—on the contrary, I should be wanting in candour, as well as gratitude, were I not to embrace this opportunity of expressing publicly, the obligations I feel myself under to them for their support and assistance.

The number of excellent sermons which have been preached, in order to recommend the measures adopted by the government for making provision for the Poor, shew how much this useful and respectable body of men have had it at heart to contribute to the success of this important measure; and their readiness to co-operate with me, (a Protestant,) upon all occasions where their assistance has been asked,

asked, not only does honour to the liberality of their sentiments, but calls for my personal acknowledgments, and particular thanks.

I shall conclude this Essay with an account of the progress which some of the improvements introduced at Munich are now making in other countries. During my late journey in Italy for the recovery of my health, I visited Verona; and becoming acquainted with the principal directors of two large and noble hospitals, *la Pietà*, and *la Misericorde*, in that city, the former containing about 350, and the latter near 500 Poor, I had frequent occasions to converse with them upon the subject of those establishments, and to give them an account of the arrangements that had been made at Munich. I likewise took the liberty of proposing some improvements, and particularly in regard to the arrangements for feeding these Poor; and in the management of the fires employed for cooking. Fire-wood, the only fuel used in that country, is extremely scarce and dear, and made a very heavy article in the expences of those institutions.

Though this scarcity of fuel, which had prevailed for ages in that part of Italy, had rendered it necessary to pay attention to the economy of fuel, and had occasioned some improvements to be made in the management of heat; yet I found, upon examining the kitchens of these two hospitals, and comparing the quantities of fuel consumed with the quantities of victuals cooked, that *seven-eighths* of

of the fire-wood they were then consuming might be saved *. Having communicated the result of those enquiries to the directors of these two hospitals, and offered my service to alter the kitchens, and arrange them upon the principles of that in the house of industry at Munich, (which I described to them,) they accepted my offer, and the kitchens were rebuilt under my immediate direction; and have both succeeded, even beyond my most sanguine expectations. That of the hospital of *la Pieta* is the most complete kitchen I have ever built; and I would recommend it as a model, in preference to any I have ever seen. I shall give a more particular description of it, with plans and estimates, in my Essay on the Management of Heat.

During the time I was employed in building the new kitchen in the hospital of *la Pieta*, I had an opportunity of making myself acquainted with all the details of the clothing of the Poor belonging to that establishment; and I found that very great savings might be made in that article of expence. I made a proposal to the directors of that hospital, to furnish them with clothing for their Poor, ready made up, from the house of industry at Munich; and upon my return to Munich I sent them *twelve* complete suits of clothing of different sizes as a sample, and accompanied them with an estimate of the prices at which we could afford to deliver them at Verona.

* I found upon examining the famous kitchen of the great hospital at Florence, that the waste of fuel there is still greater.

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The success of this little adventure has been very flattering, and has opened a very interesting channel for commerce, and for the encouragement of industry in Bavaria. This sample of clothing being approved, and, with all the expences of carriage added, being found to be near *twenty per cent.* cheaper than that formerly used, orders have been received from Italy by the house of industry at Munich, to a considerable amount, for clothing the Poor. In the beginning of September last, a few days before I left Munich to come to England, I had the pleasure to assist in packing up and sending off, over the Alps, by the Tyrol, SIX HUNDRED articles of clothing of different kinds for the Poor of Verona; and hope soon to see the Poor of Bavaria growing rich, by manufacturing clothing for the Poor of Italy.

END OF THE FIRST ESSAY.

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VIEW

OF THE

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

OF THE PRESENT

WAR WITH FRANCE.

BY THE HONOURABLE THOMAS ERSKINE.

THE FIFTEENTH EDITION.

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**L O N D O N :**

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**M,DCC,XCVII.**





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**O**N the 26th of last December, his Majesty by a gracious message to both Houses of Parliament, communicated with the utmost concern, the abrupt termination of the late negotiation with France, and directed the details of the embassy to be laid before them for their consideration.

Upon this occasion it appeared, that the negotiation had terminated upon a difference totally unconnected with the original causes of the war. It was manifest, that this country had completely abandoned the principles which, in the face of all Europe, the great confederacy against France had assigned as the justification of hostilities. The return of peace (now removed to an incalculable distance) turned entirely upon territorial cessions, neither in fact nor in principle contested at the time of the rupture, but which, as will appear by the following pages, were put at the feet

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of Great Britain, as the arbitress of universal tranquillity.

This was our condition. The object of the contest totally sunk, but the contest continuing without prospect of conclusion; one hundred millions of debt added to the former grievous weight of national incumbrances; many channels of our commerce obstructed, and our manufactures suffering in proportion; objects of revenue within the pale of luxury threatening unproduction from the necessity of extending them beyond what luxuries will carry; whilst the sinews of the laborious poor were cracking under the burdens already imposed upon all the necessities of life.

The English people had heretofore been characterised by an extreme jealousy of their government; by a disposition rather to magnify, and even to imagine evils, than to submit without inquiry to actual and unexampled calamities. A great public sensation might, therefore, have been expected from such a conjuncture; more especially as the near approach of peace had been industriously circulated and anxiously anticipated; yet, as far as I have been able to inform myself, no public event of any magnitude ever appeared to be received with more perfect indifference and unconcern. Instead of any desire to question the prudence of the public councils, to review the past, or to provide for the future, it appeared to be more than ever the prevailing, and seemingly

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seemingly exulting maxim, that government must be supported ; mixed too with a considerable degree of bitterness against all who questioned its proceedings.

That government must be supported is a maxim just and incontrovertible, when properly understood. But the administration and the government have of late been confounded. A change in the one is considered as a subversion of the other ; and a disposition to remove abuses, under any regulations, is accounted, even by those who admit and lament their existence, as an attack upon the constitution which suffers from them.

It is from this wide-spread sensation that the authors of our present calamities are cherished and supported, even by those who condemn them ; whilst they, who with wisdom and perseverance have opposed all the measures which produced them, are discountenanced and distrusted.

Such an unnatural change in the feelings and characters of Englishmen has naturally given rise to speculations upon its causes. It is impossible to ascribe it wholly either to the general increase of luxury, or to the enormous increase of the crown's influence : these are capable, indeed, of producing great changes in the public character, and are fast producing them ; but their march is too slow to have reached so suddenly to the pitch we are ar-

rived at. The state of the public mind must therefore be otherwise accounted for, and another cause has accordingly been assigned for it---the phenomenon of the French revolution, and its mighty influence upon the higher orders of men. This is true in part : the French revolution is the cause, but not the only cause ; it would have probably subsided quickly, and with consequences extremely different, but for the cotemporary phenomenon of the power and character of the British minister.

Within all our memories another great revolution had taken place, scarcely less striking and extraordinary, as it applied to alarm the government of Great Britain. The foundation of republican America had a similar, if not an equal, tendency to produce the same disposition in the people to an indiscriminate support of ministers. If degrees of comparisons were necessary to my argument, I might assert, that the æra of the American war had even a more natural and obvious tendency than the later one in France to collect the landed and monied interest of England in a blind support of the ministers of the day.

The revolution in America, like the revolution of France, exhibited to the world the danger of suffering the general grievances of a people, real or imaginary, to remain unredressed ; but with this striking difference---the revolution in France was the subversion of a foreign government ; that of America was the destruction of our own : the discon-

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tents that provoked the French to resistance were abuses which could not be felt by Englishmen under any misgovernment ; but the Americans were revolted subjects, and the cause of their revolt was the abuses and corruptions in our own constitution : the very abuses and corruptions which are complained of to this hour. Yet so impossible is it to take any correct account of the events of the world, without attending to the characters of men who are the actors in them ; so vain is it to think of tracing civil consequences from their causes, as if we were dealing with the operations of matter, that, unless we look to the accidental impulses arising from individual predominancy, we should be constantly deceived. The American convulsion produced a sensation in England directly the reverse of what is felt at this moment ; and the same man gave to the two events, so calculated to have produced corresponding effects, a direction and consequences diametrically opposite. With the one he roused the British democracy to threaten the corruptions of the other orders which had tainted and enslaved it ; with the other he now frightens the people into a surrender of their best privileges, and claims the title of an upright minister upon principles which he repeatedly and solemnly declared to be utterly inconsistent with the very existence of an upright administration.

It may be said, that the two revolutions were very different.—Very different indeed.—It is now too late

late to rail at or fight with the one, and our railing and fighting have created almost all the evils of the other. America and France began their revolutions upon the same principles, but with very different fortunes. America had no ancient internal aristocracy—France had nothing else. America had to contend with England only; a contention which gave her France to protect her: France had to contend against the world. When England had exhausted and disgraced herself, America was therefore free; but France had to exhaust and disgrace the world, and in the dreadful effort has been driven to extremities which frequently has disgraced herself. But, with these accidental differences, the objects were the same: discontent occasioned by abuses produced both revolutions. Both governments might have continued monarchical, if corrupt power would have submitted to correction: they are now both free representative republics; and if corruption will not yet be corrected, let her look to herself.

During the first of these great æras, Mr. Pitt began his public life, under circumstances so splendid and so honourable to himself, that, having no personal enmity towards him, it is painful to me to recur to them; indeed, if any part of what is written hereafter shall appear to be dictated by so unworthy a motive, I utterly and solemnly disclaim it. I make no attack upon his private character; but the public existence is at stake: Mr. Pitt is a minister in a most awful crisis: I feel a duty in examining his  
conduct

conduct in that capacity, and my public conduct in opposing him is equally open to the animadversion of the world. It is only by looking back to the past that we can hope to correct the future; and when delusion has overspread a nation, the illumination of an angel would only darken it, unless the causes of it were first detected and exposed. To obtain security for England, we must look back to the time when she was at peace: we must examine the causes and progress of the war; must retrace all our steps, and look, if we dare, to what they lead.

Towards the close of the American war, Mr. Pitt (a boy almost), saw the corrupt condition of Parliament, from the defect in the representation of the people, with the eyes of a mature statesman: the eagle eyes of his father had seen it before him, and the thunder of his eloquence had made it tremble. Lord Chatham had detected and exposed the rank corruption of the House of Commons as the sole cause of that fatal quarrel, and left it as a legacy to his son to avenge and to correct it. The youthful exertions of Mr. Pitt were worthy of the delegation. —From my acquaintance with him, both before and upon his first entrance into public life, I have no doubt of his perfect sincerity in the cause he then undertook; and the maturity of his judgment, even at that time, with which I was well acquainted, secures his conduct from the rashness of unthinking youth. His efforts are in the memory of the whole public, and their miscarriage at that time are not, in my opinion, to be imputed to him.



Corruption and abuse, always uniform, opposed to Mr. Pitt's propositions of reformation the identical objections which, *under his own auspices*, they oppose to all reformation now ; and Parliament at that time, like the late Parliament, for motives which I leave to every man's own reflection, rejected reformation in all its shapes. Within the walls of the House of Commons, the proprietors of boroughs expressed their indignation (as they have lately, and as they would to-morrow) that such a preposterous time should be chosen for alteration, however wise or regulated, as the conclusion of the American war ; the empire, they said, had been rent asunder by the fermentation of political opinions ; that our colonists had become republicans ; and that if the door were once opened to changes, who should prescribe their limits ?

These arguments triumphed in the House of Commons, but Mr. Pitt triumphed with the disinterested part of the nation. His arguments for chusing that crisis were convincing and unanswerable. The cause of reform was highly popular, and men of the greatest rank and fortune took the lead in it. Irregularities of course were committed, but the public mind was sound. Libels on Parliament at that time, as since, were written ; but Mr. Pitt's were unquestionably the strongest and the best. Public meetings, to take the sense of the people upon the conduct of the House of Commons in rejecting the proposition, were universally promoted ; but those of Mr. Pitt, at the Thatched House Tavern, (as might be expected from his talents

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and the influence of his supporters) were by much the most systematical; and the most alarming to government.

Soon after this period Mr. Pitt became prime minister, an object of oversetting ambition for a very young person, and indeed, independently of that, it is but justice to remark, that whatever disposition he might have had to serve the King, and rule the British Parliament, according to the liberal principles with which he began his public life; his Majesty, without very essential changes, could not be so served, nor a British Parliament be so conducted.

It would be unfair, in a publication addressed to the world; to presume to trace the insensible changes in the mind of this minister upon the favourite object of his youth; the nurse of his fame, and his conductor to power; I know enough of the corruptions inseparable from the administration of a government which must be managed upon the principles of our own at present, to be able to make many allowances. It is enough for my present purpose, that Mr. Pitt first totally abandoned his own opinions, and afterwards became the opposer, and even the persecutor of all who continued to preserve them.

I will not leave it to his advocates to remark, that though he had indeed abandoned the cause of reform, yet that the condition of things was in some respects changed when he made his grand attack upon the  
 C reformers

reformers: that the French revolution had intervened; that it had caused a great fermentation in the minds of men; that it appeared to have given to the zeal of some British reformers a tinge of republicanism; and that the effects and consequences of that great event had read an awful lesson to the world. Had Mr. Pitt acted with good faith upon these considerations, if he really entertained them, I know enough of the character of his understanding to believe that his conduct would have been different; and his original principle, on which he rested the whole of his memorable argument for the reform of Parliament, confirms me in that belief. Mr. Pitt's principle, illustrated by the American contest, was, that the holding high the abuses of government had been the foundation of all danger and violence to its authority. He would therefore have again brought forward the British constitution in its purity, as an antidote to republican speculations; confident that from his situation, and from the double hold he would have had by it over the nation, he might have given the spirit of reform his own direction, and moulded it to his own will. But unfortunately for England, he could not do this WITHOUT AT LEAST A TEMPORARY SACRIFICE OF HIS STATION AS MINISTER; Mr. Pitt, therefore, chose to remain in his station upon the only principles in which, without reform, it could possibly be maintained.

Having made this election, it is impossible, without the grossest injustice, to deny that he has conducted

ducted himself with masterly skill, and with a boldness without example in the history of the minister of any regular government. The enthusiasm for English reform, animated in its zeal from the struggles of the first reformers of France, when the Bastille fell, and when the Parliament of Paris opened its doors to the representatives of the nation, began to assume an energy of which wisdom and virtue might have taken the safe direction, but which, I admit, at the same time, required either to be managed by a liberal support from government, or to be checked in its excesses by a prudent and constitutional restraint. The British minister took neither of these courses. Too old in office to put his situation to hazard, by supporting the liberal principles which bestowed it; too bold and too strongly supported to employ caution in his remedy; embittered, perhaps, with the reflection of his own defection, and with the reproaches levelled at him, he seems to have resolved to cut the Gordian knot with a sword. Alarmed at the contagion of liberty from France, he determined to cut off all communication between the two nations, and to keep them separated at the chance, or rather the certainty, from his own creation, of a general war in Europe.

For this purpose the honest but irregular zeal of some societies, instituted for the reform of Parliament, furnished a seasonable but a contemptible pretext; they had sent congratulations to the French government when it had ceased to be monarchical:

in their correspondencies through the country on the abuses and corruptions of the British constitution, they had unfortunately mixed many ill-timed and extravagant encomiums upon the revolution of France, whilst its practice, for the time, had broke loose from the principles which deserved them; and, in their just indignation towards the confederacies then forming in Europe, they wrote many severe strictures against their monarchical establishments, from which the mixed principles of our own government were not strictly or prudently separated. They wrote besides, as an incitement to the reform of Parliament, many bitter observations upon the defective constitution, and the consequent corruptions of the House of Commons; some of which, according to the just theory of the law, were unquestionably libels.

These irregularities and excesses were, for a considerable length of time, wholly overlooked by government. Mr. Paine's works had been extensively and industriously circulated throughout England and Scotland; the correspondencies, which above a year afterwards became the subject of the state trials, had been printed in every newspaper, and sold without question or interruption in every shop in the kingdom; when a circumstance took place, not calculated, one would imagine, to have occasioned any additional alarm to the country, but which (mixed with the effects on the public from Mr. Burke's first celebrated publication on the French  
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Revolution,) seems to have given rise to the King's Proclamation, the first act of government regarding France and her affairs.

A few gentlemen, not above fifty in number, and consisting principally of persons of rank, talents, and character, formed themselves into a society, under the name of the Friends of the People. They had observed with concern, as they professed in the published motives of their association, the grossly unequal representation of the people in the House of Commons; its effects upon the measures of government; but, above all, its apparent tendency to lower the dignity of Parliament, and to deprive it of the opinion of the people. Their avowed object was, therefore, to bring the very cause, which Mr. Pitt had so recently taken the lead in, fairly and respectfully before the House of Commons; in hopes, as they declared, to tranquilise the agitated part of the public, to restore affection and respect for the legislature, so necessary to secure submission to its authority; and, by concentrating the views of all reformers to the preservation of our invaluable constitution, to prevent that fermentation of political opinion, which the French revolution had undoubtedly given rise to, from taking a republican direction in Great Britain.\* These were not only the professed objects of this association, but the truth and good faith of

\* I declare, upon my honour, these were my reasons for becoming a member of that society.

them

them received afterwards the sanction of judicial authority, when their proceedings were brought forward by government in the course of the state trials.

Nevertheless, on the very day that Mr. Grey, at the desire of this small society, gave notice of his intended motion in the House of Commons, there was an instantaneous movement amongst ministers, as if a great national conspiracy had been discovered. No act of government appeared to have been in agitation before that period, although the correspondencies before alluded to had, for months, been public and notorious, and there was scarcely an information, even for a libel, upon the file of the Court of King's Bench. Nevertheless, a council was almost immediately held, and his Majesty was advised to issue his royal proclamation of the 21st of May, 1792, to rouse the vigilance and attention of the magistrates throughout the kingdom to the vigorous discharge of their duties.

If this had been the only object of the proclamation, and if it had been followed up by no other proceedings than the suppression of libels, and a coercive respect for the authorities of Parliament, it would have been happy for England; unfortunately it seemed to have other objects, which, if as a subject of the country I have no right to condemn, I may at least, with the freedom of history, be now allowed to lament.

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The proclamation had unquestionably for its object to spread the alarm against French principles; and, to do it effectually, all principles were considered as French by his Majesty's ministers which questioned the infallibility of their own government, or which looked towards the least change in the representation of the people in Parliament.

If it had issued, however, under the authority of the British ministry only, it probably could not have produced its important and unfortunate effects. But the minister, before he advised the measure, had taken care to secure the disunion of the Whig party, which had hitherto firmly and uniformly opposed both the principles and practice of his administration. To this body I gloried to belong, as I still do to cling even to the weather-beaten pieces of the wreck which remains of it. Neither am I ashamed of the appellation of party, when the phrase is properly understood; for without parties, cemented by the union of sound principles, evil men and evil principles cannot be successfully resisted. I flatter myself that the people of England will not hastily believe, that I have ever been actuated in my public conduct by interest or ambition.

The Whig party, as it has been called, was insignificant indeed from its numbers, and weak from the formidable influence of the crown in the hands of its adversaries; but formidable, nevertheless, from illustrious rank, great property, and splendid talents;



talents; still more from an opinion of public integrity, which formed a strong hold upon the minds of the country. I look back with the most heart-felt and dispiriting sorrow to the division of this little phalanx, whose union upon the principles which first bound them together might, in spite of differences of opinion in matters concerning which good men may fairly differ, have preserved the peace of the world, re-animated the forms of our own constitution, and averted calamities, the end of which I tremble to think of. Reflecting, however, as I do, upon the frailties of human nature, advertng to the deceptions which may be practised upon it, and which men, by insensible degrees, unconsciously practise upon themselves; compelled by candour to keep in view the unexampled crisis of the French revolution, the horrors which disfigured it, the alarms inseparable from it, but, above all, the dexterous artifices which it furnished to inflame and to mislead; I wish to draw a veil over the stages which divided statesmen and friends, at they very moment of all others when they ought to have drawn closer together, and when their union might have preserved their country. I shall, therefore, content myself with observing, that before the King's Proclamation was issued, the support of the Duke of Portland had not only probably been secured to it, but the assent of some of the most distinguished persons in the opposition had been well understood to the whole of that system of measures which ended in the war with France.

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The proclamation, thus supported, was planted as the only genuine banner of loyalty throughout the kingdom; voluntary bodies, to strengthen the executive power by maintaining prosecutions, were every where instituted. Society was rent asunder, and the harmony and freedom of English manners were, for a season, totally destroyed.

It was at this period that the seeds of war were sown, which ever since we have been unfortunately reaping. Nothing is more distant from my temper, or my purpose, than to fasten the charge either of corruption or folly upon all who were seized with this alarm, or who even contributed to its propagation. Many worthy and intelligent persons, superior to common weaknesses, and aloof from all meanness, were undoubtedly hurried away by its influence. It is far more pleasant to me to hope, that many of those who were active in spreading the delusion were themselves deluded, than to scatter imputation upon thousands who may be wiser and better than myself. The public, in a cooler hour, will be prepared to make the proper distinctions, and to separate the innocent from the guilty. But the effects were not the less mischievous, whatever might have been the motives; and the delusion, however it may be yet disguised by the causes which produced it, will appear in the future history of England as a blot in the annals of an enlightened age and of a free country.

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The spirit which became prevalent about this time, which bore down every thing before it, and prepared the nation for war, was an absolute horror of every thing connected with France, and even for liberty itself, because France avowed to be contending for it. It confounded the casual intemperance of an enlarged and warm zeal for the freedom and happiness of mankind with a tendency to universal anarchy, and to a resistance of all governments: it considered an irritable sense of the evils attending the Christian superstitions, and a complacency under their rapid declension, as a decided apostacy from the church, and as the sure test of irreligion, and even of atheism itself. It set down as a declared enemy to monarchy, however existing by consent, and poized, like our own, by the balances of a popular constitution, every man who did not throw up his cap when combined despotism was trampling upon the establishments, and casting lots for the territories of free men, or who dared to exult and triumph when a murderous manifesto was thrust down the throats of the tyrants who uttered it, and when a great people, determined to be free, succeeded in repelling the lawless invaders of their country.

These were the feelings which ministers at this period imputed to large classes of the people of Great Britain, and of our sister kingdom.

The imputation was made with truth: the inference only was fallacious and wicked. If the well-founded

founded imputation of these sensations, and the habits of publicly expressing them, be political guilt, I for one plead guilty; and I thank God, above all his other blessings, that he has indelibly impressed them upon my understanding and my heart. But let us examine what were the public fruits of these dangerous emotions, which rendered it necessary to convert the nation, as it were, into a large prison, by restrictive laws, by internal military stations, and by the separations of external war.

Considerable bodies of the people were desirous of stirring the question of reform at a time when Mr. Pitt had laid it down, and the followers of the Duke of Richmond (then a cabinet minister of the King) were not only the most numerous, but were distinguished by the lengths to which they seemed to push their views upon the subject; views which I admit to have been *very little short* of those which the Duke himself had avowed and acted upon a few years before.

Whilst it continues to be the office of courts of justice to decide upon evidence, I shall maintain this to have been the extent of the designs which at the date of the proclamation, or which at any time afterwards, prevailed in this country. Not a man had been then convicted, nor has now, whilst I am writing, for any treason against the state, though the laws have been new cast and manufactured to reach cases which the venerable institutions of our forefathers did

not touch; and no conspiracy against the government had then, or has to this hour, been detected. Libels, indeed, both then and since, as at all other periods, were undoubtedly written by mischievous, turbulent, and misguided individuals. But the community at large was sound, and the object which gave the real offence was virtuous and laudable. It was to reform the representation of the House of Commons, by the ways of the constitution, by an endeavour to collect the public sentiment, and to produce it before Parliament. Three English juries determined this to have been the object, and the crown never invited a fourth to contradict them. The object, therefore, was virtuous and laudable; and if the constitution is to be preserved, the renewed pursuit will alone preserve it; and it might then have been secured without a struggle, without a war with France, and without fear of her revolution—if those who have the deepest interest in the state had not been afraid of ENGLISH liberty,

I never shall be the defender of popular excesses, nor of commotions which can endanger the peace of my country; God forbid that I should: but I know they never can arise, if men, who stand on the vantage ground in society, will only behave with common honesty and common sense. It is not yet too late for the higher orders of this country to consider well this subject. Let me implore them, while yet practicable, to give a safe direction to a spirit which neither Laws nor Wars will repress,

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This spirit is at present high in Ireland, and the recent zeal of that brave and virtuous people has completely detected the false and pernicious calumnies upon both countries. It has demonstrated that a desire to reform abuses in the government is not at all connected with disloyalty to its establishment, and that the restoration of a free constitution by the wisdom and spirit of a nation has no alliance with, but, on the contrary, is utterly abhorrent to a submission to foreign force.

The late attempt upon Ireland ought nevertheless to make the deepest impression upon the government of England. The very sensation occasioned by it, and our congratulations upon the support of the elements, is in itself a condemnation of the measures pursued in that country.

If Ireland were conducted as she ought to be, what dependence, in God's name, could we have to place upon the winds? Could a protective government of three millions of men, happy under the enjoyment of our free constitution, have occasion to look to a weather-glass for its safety against twenty thousand men? or could any thing but a hope of disunion, held out to an enemy by the effects of a narrow policy, have suggested so weak and feeble an expedition?

This is a hope that will remain unextinguished in France, and which may be expected to produce future and more dangerous expeditions, unless satisfaction

faction be given to the feelings of that country. It is a dangerous mode of reckoning, that because the people have not manifested their discontent by inviting an enemy, they are therefore to be considered as contented; or, that their wishes may be the more safely neglected. It is justly observed by Locke, that nations, instead of being prone to resist their governments without cause, require long continued neglect and provocation to rouse them even to a reasonable and justifiable resistance. But he follows this observation by reminding the rulers of states and kingdoms, that this disposition leaves them neither justification nor protection when their authorities are subverted; and that the degree of disgust, which will at last surely overturn them, is not matter of safe or rational calculation: that the progress of disaffection is insensible and invisible, and that it is frequently hurried on to the fatal conclusion by accidents neither to be foreseen nor resisted.

These reflections ought to suggest the propriety of securing this most valuable part of the empire from the possible danger of a better concerted attack. This ought to be done, not merely by more watchful operations (for I have purposely shunned all consideration of the details of departments), but by setting the watch in the interests and affections of the Irish people.

Nothing can accomplish this but the absolute renunciation of that jealous and restrictive system of government, which characterises the present administration

tration every where, but more than any where in that kingdom. To rule with security over that people, or over any other, in the present condition of the world, they must be set at their ease, and made happy by every indulgence within the compass of their government. To make the interest of supporting any civil establishment universal, the privileges it confers must be made universal also. To inspire the multitude with indignation at a foreign enemy, they must be made to feel practically the privileges which his invasion strikes at, and the social blessings it would destroy.

It is said, that when peace arrives it may be prudent to consider these great objects. But without instant consideration of them, peace may never arrive at all. If I had the princely dominion of Ireland, and were lord of all her soil, I would choose that moment for reforming her parliament, and for complete emancipation, when the enemy was plying upon her coasts: not as acts of sudden fear, but of sound wisdom and critical justice. To withhold from great bodies of a people the freest and fullest communications of all the privileges of their government when its existence is externally threatened, is to bandage up the right arm when an enemy is approaching, and, by robbing it of its circulation, to deprive it of its strength.

But the Irish people flocked with loyalty to the standard of their country. For that very reason it  
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should



should be crowned with the garland of constitutional freedom. Let the present moment be seized for making reformation a spontaneous act of liberal and enlightened policy, instead of being hereafter an act of cautious prudence, which may destroy its grace and effect. Let all the concessions of government in both countries be the concessions of wisdom and beneficence; and not, as was happily expressed by a great writer, like the restitution of stolen goods. Let the people of both countries receive the greatest degree of freedom which the true spirit of our constitution is capable of dispensing, and we may then smile at all invasions, whatever reach of coast our enemies may possess. Under such a system, instead of riots and murmurings, by coercive acts of parliament, every man would be a volunteer with a courage which no mutiny bill can inspire, and every house and cottage in Great Britain and Ireland would be a barrack for the soldiers of their country.

These are unfortunately not abstract and speculative reflections; they would have been so formerly: but they are now taught by the awful times we live in. It is the use of history and observation to be a guide for the future.

It was a restrictive system of government in Holland and the Netherlands, and the consequent divisions amongst their inhabitants, that has suddenly altered the face of Europe by their subjugation, and it is the difference between the noble and independent  
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pride of a free government and the vassalage of arbitrary power, that is wresting at this moment from the hands of the Emperor the sceptre of his Italian states.

The French system of fraternization, the effect of which we have seen with so much horror, could have had no other foundation. If the free governments which they subverted had not fallen off from the ends of their institutions, their subversions would have been impracticable, and the memorable decree of the 19th of November would have been the destruction, instead of the terror of Europe.

I am sorry indeed to remark, that this decree, and the system of which it was a part, existed only upon paper, and in the inflammatory speeches of enthusiastic men, until confederated Europe began the actual and forcible fraternization of the monarchical part of France. When that nation had effected an internal revolution, no matter upon what principle or with what crimes, it should have occurred to her invaders, who could not have looked to subjugation but by the divisions of civil fury, that they were themselves practically pursuing that very species of hostility, the theory only of which had been an object of their execration, and the foundation of their confederacy. The same reflection ought to have deterred Great Britain from the merciless and impolitic expedition to Quiberon. The government of France had then assumed a regular form, and was in the exercise of a regular legal

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galized authority. The devoted handful of unhappy fugitives from their country could do nothing by the sword. The expedition, therefore, was to rekindle the torch of discord amidst twenty-five millions of men beginning to escape from its former fury, and settled under an established government. Our invasion was to work by confusion against established authority; to stir up all the elements of misery and mischief amongst the innocent part of the community, incapable of understanding the cause for which they fought, and without even the hope on our part of protecting them from the fury of the government against which they rebelled.

What was this proceeding but the very system we had imputed to France, and proclaimed with horror to the universe?

I hope, indeed, all civilized nations will hereafter concur in stigmatizing this horrible and barbarous system of hostilities: a stranger even to that heroism which has unfortunately converted the crimes of conquest into the most fascinating triumphs of mankind. It is a system which is directed against the first principle of social honour and happiness. It beats up for every bad, degrading, and dangerous passion of the human mind. It does not raise the open, manly standard of nation against nation, but in the cowardice of warfare, which dissolves its only enchantment, divides a nation against itself. It makes up an army of public crime and private discontent,

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of honest error and false opinion, of desperate vice and virtuous poverty driven to desperation. It sets free the victims of the laws to imprison and enslave the state; brings into the field against one another men whom the same land and the same fathers have bred, and which, instead of settling this horrible conflict by the cannon and the sword, the shortest cure for the miseries it has engendered, and extending no further than to the actual combatants, spreads wide the desolation by the slower weapons of jealousy and distrust, of terror and vengeance; scowers the land with disease and famine, and by the destruction of public credit, public confidence, and public opinion, destroys for the present, and puts to the die of chance hereafter, the existence and even the name of a country.

When my subject is attended to, I have no apology to make for this digression. Indeed it can hardly be called one; because the facts which gave rise to it stand in their proper places as connected with the origin of the war against France, and because the reflections from them are not spontaneous, being dictated by public duty to the historian of such events.

The excesses which unfortunately distinguished the French revolution, soon after the proclamation, further favoured the system of antipathy against France, and the death of her unhappy monarch yet

further ripened the plans of government already in agitation.

Before this memorable æra there was a visible disposition in ministers to a rupture with France, but the sense of her situation inspired the French councils with a prudence which disappointed it. Ministers had notoriously connived at, if not assisted in fomenting the conspiracy then forming throughout Europe; they had covertly libelled France in the proclamation which M. Chauvelin, by order from his court, had only mildly complained of; they had withdrawn Lord Gower from Paris; they had set on foot a correspondence between the secretary of state and her minister here in the most imperious language, and upon complaints which she either disavowed, or to the removal of which she seemed to submit.

All these provocations were resisted by France, and the concessions which she made before and after our refusal to acknowledge her ambassador would scarcely be believed, if it did not remain on record in the correspondence as it was laid before the House of Commons by ministers themselves, to vindicate their conduct in dismissing M. Chauvelin, and to justify the war which it produced.

This correspondence is scarcely known to, or recollected by, the English public. Its authenticity is unquestionable, and the examination of it will place the authors of the war in their proper colours.

The mission of M. Chauvelin, as ambassador from the King of the French, commenced in the spring of 1792; and his first note, as appears by the correspondence with Lord Grenville, bears date the 12th of May in that year. It had for its object to explain to the court of Great Britain (as will appear by reference to it) the reasons which had determined France to a war with the Emperor.

It stated, in the name of the French King, that a great conspiracy had been formed in Europe against France to destroy her new constitution, which he had sworn to maintain, masking for a season the preparations of its designs by an insulting pity for his person and a zeal for his authority.

It set forth the remonstrances which he (the French King) had made upon the subject of this coalition, first to the Emperor Leopold, and afterwards to Francis, who succeeded him. He informed Great Britain, that it had at last been avowed, and a declaration made, that it should not cease “ *until France should remove the serious causes which had given rise to it.*” The note added, that this declaration had been accompanied with the assembling of troops upon all the frontiers of France, evidently for the purpose of constraining her inhabitants to alter the form of the government they had chosen.

Having thus stated the causes of the war with the Emperor, the French King appealed to the British  
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government for the justice of his cause; and, to remove all jealousies respecting this country which had been industriously circulated, Monsieur Chauvelin, in his name, and by his authority, further declared, "that whatever might be the fate of arms in that war, France rejected all ideas of aggrandisement; that she would preserve her liberty, her constitution, her unalienable right of reforming herself whenever she might think proper; that she never would allow other powers to nourish a hope of dictating laws to her. But that that very pride, so natural and so just, was a sure pledge to all the powers from whom she should receive no provocation, not only of her constant pacific disposition, but also of the respect which France would shew at all times for the laws, the customs, and the forms of governments, of different nations."

As at this time much had been said of attempts made by France to produce disturbances in this country, the note further declared, "that the French King desired to have it known, that he would publicly and severely disavow all agents at foreign courts in peace with France, who should dare to depart an instant from that respect, either by fomenting or favouring insurrection against the established order, or by interfering in any manner whatever in the interior policy of such states, under pretence of a proselytism, which, exercised in the dominions of friendly powers, would be a real violation of the law of nations."

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This note was dated, as I have observed, on the 12th of May, 1792. No answer was given to it, until the 24th of the same month, when Lord Grenville, passing by the causes of the war with the Emperor, declared, “ *that Great Britain, faithful to her engagements, would pay the strictest attention to preserve that good understanding which so happily subsisted between his Majesty and the Most Christian King.*” But notwithstanding this declaration, the royal proclamation had issued only three days before, and in the very interval between M. Chauvelin’s note and this answer to it:

The proclamation, it is true, took no direct notice of France; and being an act of national police, France had, in strictness, no right to complain of it. Yet the period of its issuing being so critical, M. Chauvelin repeated to Lord Grenville, the day afterwards, the assurances he had made on the 12th of May preceding; and in another letter, received by Lord Grenville in June, expressed himself as follows:

“ *If certain individuals of this country have established a correspondence abroad, tending to excite troubles therein, and if, as the proclamation seems to insinuate, certain Frenchmen have come into their views, that is a proceeding wholly foreign to the French nation, to the legislative body, to the King, and to his ministers; it is a proceeding of which they are entirely ignorant, which militates against every principle of justice, and*  
*“ which*



“ which, whenever it became known, would be uni-  
 “ versally condemned in France. Independently of those  
 “ principles of justice, from which a free people ought  
 “ never to deviate, is it not evident, from a due con-  
 “ sideration of the true interests of the French nation,  
 “ that she ought to desire the interior tranquillity, the  
 “ continuance and the force of the constitution of a country  
 “ which she already looks upon as her natural ally? Is  
 “ not this the only reasonable wish which a people can form  
 “ who sees so many efforts united against its liberty?

“ The minister plenipotentiary, deeply sensible of these  
 “ truths, and of the maxims of universal morality upon  
 “ which they are founded, had already represented them  
 “ in an official note, which he transmitted to the British  
 “ ministry the 15th of this month, by the express orders  
 “ of his court; and he thinks it his duty to repeat, on  
 “ the present occasion, the important declarations which  
 “ it contains.”

In the month of July, when the vast confederacy  
 begun in Europe was more visibly extending itself  
 against France, M. Chauvelin, in the name of the  
 French King, earnestly applied for the mediation of  
 Great Britain upon the subject. After stating the  
 public proceedings of the different nations, the note  
 concluded as follows:

“ The steps taken by the cabinet of Vienna amongst  
 “ the different powers, and principally amongst the allies  
 “ of his Britannic Majesty, in order to engage them in  
 “ a quar-

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“ a quarrel which is foreign to them, are known to all  
 “ Europe. If public report even were to be credited,  
 “ its successes at the court of Berlin prepare the way for  
 “ others in the United Provinces; the threats held out  
 “ to the different members of the Germanic body to make  
 “ them deviate from that wise neutrality which their  
 “ political situation, and their dearest interests, prescribe  
 “ to them; the arrangements taken with different sove-  
 “ reigns of Italy, to determine them to act hostilely  
 “ against France; and, lastly, the intrigues by which  
 “ Russia has just been induced to arm against the consti-  
 “ tution of Poland; every thing points out fresh marks  
 “ of a vast conspiracy against free states, which seems to  
 “ threaten to precipitate Europe in universal war.

“ The consequences of such a conspiracy, formed by  
 “ the concurrence of powers who have been so long rivals,  
 “ will be easily felt by his Britannic Majesty: the balance  
 “ of Europe, the independence of the different powers, the  
 “ general peace, every consideration which at all times  
 “ has fixed the attention of the English government, is  
 “ at once exposed and threatened.

“ The King of the French presents these serious and  
 “ important considerations to the solicitude and to the  
 “ friendship of his Britannic Majesty. Strongly pene-  
 “ trated with the marks of interest and of affection which  
 “ he has received from him; he invites him to seek, in  
 “ his wisdom, in his situation, and in his influence, means  
 “ compatible with the independence of the French nation,  
 “ to stop, whilst it is still time, the progress of that con-  
 F “ federacy,

*“federacy, which equally threatens the peace, the liberty, the happiness of Europe, and, above all, to dissuade from all accession to this project those of his allies whom it may be wished to draw into it, or who may have been already drawn into it from fear, seduction, and different pretexts of the falsest as well as of the most odious policy.”*

This application was answered by Lord Grenville on the 8th of July, in which, after repeating former assurances of friendship towards France, and of a disposition to maintain the happy harmony which subsisted between the two empires, the proposed mediation was refused in the following words :

*“His Majesty will never refuse to concur in the preservation or re-establishment of peace between the other powers of Europe, by such means as are proper to produce that effect, and are compatible with his dignity, and with the principles which govern his conduct. But the same sentiments which have determined him not to take a part in the internal affairs of France, ought equally to induce him to respect the rights and the independence of other sovereigns, and especially those of the allies; and his Majesty has thought that, in the existing circumstances of the war now begun, the intervention of his councils, or of his good offices, cannot be of use, unless they should be desired by all the parties interested.”*

The same determination, not to interfere with the internal affairs of France, was repeated only a few days before M. Chauvelin was ordered to quit the kingdom, under the circumstances of direct interference which will presently appear to have attended his dismissal: and the refusal to mediate with the Emperor for the restoration of peace was given but a short time before we involved Holland in the horrors of war, without being desired to intermeddle in her affairs.

This proceeding, which terminated all hopes of tranquillity in Europe, furnishes the true cypher to explain every succeeding act of his Majesty's present councils. We shall find them uniformly and scrupulously observant of the most novel punctilios, which could furnish the smallest pretence for repelling peace, but overleaping every rule hitherto adopted by regular governments in seeking a justification for war.

Soon after this, the unhappy King of France was deprived of the functions of government, and Lord Gower was recalled from Paris; and M. Chauvelin was still continued by France at the court of London, although he was no longer acknowledged as her ambassador: a pretty strong proof that she was not then desirous of seeking a cause of quarrel.

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Though M. Chauvelin was now in a manner a private man, yet the correspondence nevertheless continued with the secretary of state; and it appears, by referring to it, that the charges made by this country to the conduct of France were principally these:

A meditated attack upon Holland, and at all events a violation of her rights, notwithstanding her neutrality, by the proceedings of the Convention respecting the Scheldt, and the opening a passage through it to attack the citadel of Antwerp; the French invasion and possession of the Netherlands, and the encouragement given to revolt in other countries, not only by emissaries in this country, but by the decree of the 19th of November, which contained a formal declaration to extend universally the new principles of government adopted in France, and to encourage revolt in all countries, even in those which were neutral.

M. Chauvelin had explained himself upon these subjects in the early part of the correspondence: but as his formal character of ambassador was then considered to be vacated, I purposely pass them over, because they were afterwards formally repeated, and nearly in the same words, when M. Chauvelin, in January, 1793, presented his letters of credence from the executive council of France, the acceptance of which were formally refused by Lord Grenville,

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In this note the executive council again in terms declared, “ *that France would respect the safety of all nations whilst they preserved their neutrality; that she had before renounced, and again renounced, every conquest; and that her occupation of the Low Countries should only continue during the war, and the time which might be necessary for the Belgians to consolidate their liberties; after which let them be happy, France would find her recompence in their felicity.*”

With regard to the Scheldt, she considered that as a matter between England and Belgium, as independent nations, upon the principle of her former declaration regarding that country, expressing herself thus:

“ *The executive council declares, not with a view of yielding to some expressions of threatening language, but solely to render homage to truth, that the French republic does not intend to erect itself into an universal arbitrator of the treaties which bind nations. She will know how to respect other governments, as she will take care to make her own respected. She does not wish to impose laws upon any one, and will not suffer any one to impose laws upon her. She has renounced, and again renounces every conquest; and her occupation of the Low Countries shall only continue during the war, and the time which may be necessary to the Belgians to insure and consolidate their liberty; after which let them be independent and happy, France will find her recompence in their felicity.*”

“ *When*

*“ When that nation shall be found in the full enjoyment of liberty, when its general will can lawfully declare itself without shackles, then if England and Holland still attach some importance to the opening of the Scheldt, they may put the affair into a direct negotiation with Belgium. If the Belgians, by any motive whatever, consent to deprive themselves of the navigation of the Scheldt, France will not oppose it; she will know how to respect their independence, even in their errors.”*

The charge of encouraging sedition against governments she again repelled with indignation in the language of her former declarations on the subject, and disavowed the construction put upon the decree of the 19th of November, qualifying and explaining it as follows :

*“ We have said, and we desire to repeat it, that the decree of the 19th of November could not have any application, unless to the single case in which the general will of the nation, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call the French nation to its assistance and fraternity. Sedition can certainly never be construed into the general will. These two ideas mutually repel each other, since a sedition is not, and cannot be any other than the movement of a small number against the nation at large; and this movement would cease to be seditious, provided all the members of a society should at once rise, either to correct their government, or to change its form in toto, or for any other object.*

*“ The*

*“ The Dutch were assuredly not seditious, when they  
 “ formed the generous resolution of shaking off the yoke of  
 “ Spain ; and when the general will of that nation called  
 “ for the assistance of France, it was not reputed a crime  
 “ in Henry the Fourth, or in Elizabeth of England, to  
 “ have listened to them. The knowledge of the general  
 “ will is the only basis of the transactions of nations with  
 “ each other ; and we can only treat with any government  
 “ whatever on this principle, that such a government is  
 “ deemed the organ of the general will of the nation go-  
 “ verned.*

*“ Thus, when by this natural interpretation the decree  
 “ of the 19th of November is reduced to what it truly im-  
 “ plies, it will be found that it announces nothing more  
 “ than an act of the general will, and that beyond any  
 “ doubt, and so effectually founded in right, that it was  
 “ scarcely worth the trouble to express it. On this ac-  
 “ count, the executive council thinks that the evidence of  
 “ this right might, perhaps, have been dispensed with by  
 “ the National Convention, and did not deserve to be  
 “ made the object of a particular decree. But with the  
 “ interpretation which precedes it, it cannot give uneasi-  
 “ ness to any nation whatever.”*

Having adverted to all the material parts of the correspondence, I desire very distinctly to be understood, that I am not undertaking the justification of the conduct of France, at this period, though I shall ever think her “ more sinned against than sinning.” With regard to this decree of the 19th of November,



no considerate person can justify it: because there is a great difference between one nation giving PARTICULAR assistance to another which is oppressed by its government, as King William did to England, and a GENERAL prospective declaration, such as is contained in the decree of the 19th of November, and which became more hostile to the peace of other nations, as being issued upon the eve of a great revolution which naturally affected the temper and feelings of mankind. Neither do I seek to maintain that England should have rested secure from the explanation of the other points in difference, as they are explained in this correspondence, much less that she should have relied upon the sincerity of them, or the durability of French councils, to give sincerity its effect. These are matters of fair political controversy, which I purposely avoid; but I hazard the assertion, that common policy and common sense absolutely enjoined that they should either have been made the instant foundations of war, as aggressions which admitted no settlement, or the subject of negotiation upon terms consistent with dignity and safety.

But, unfortunately, neither of these courses were pursued. We neither made war upon these aggressions, which might have led to a termination of it upon their removal, nor would we consent to put their removal into a train of amicable negotiation.

The letters of credence sent by the republic were refused, not because of these enumerated aggressions,

gressions, or of any other, but because she was a republic; and in a few days afterwards, Monsieur Chauvelin, who presented them, was also dismissed from the kingdom; not because the answers of his government were declared unsatisfactory on the points objected to, but because the French monarchy had been finally terminated by the destruction of their King. On that account solely Monsieur Chauvelin was directed, on the 24th of January, 1793, to quit this kingdom; the King having declared by the secretary of state, "*That after such an event, his Majesty could no longer permit his residence here.*" And the communication of that order to the Parliament on the 28th of January following, expressly stated his dismissal to be "*on account of the late atrocious act perpetrated at Paris.*"

Before this period, France was, undoubtedly, solicitous for peace. She had done none of the acts complained of in the correspondence, until her independence had been threatened by a hostile confederacy. She had prayed the mediation of Great Britain to dissolve that confederacy, and to avert its consequences. She had disavowed conquest and aggrandizement; and the only steps she had taken inconsistent with that declaration, were invasions of the territories of princes confederating or confederated against her. She offered to respect the neutrality of Holland, and solemnly disavowed every act or intention to disturb the government of Great Britain.

This posture of things, which, if not wholly satisfactory, was certainly a posture for amicable and commanding settlement, the British government thus disturbed by an act which may be termed an interference with the internal government of France; accompanied besides with what cannot well be denied to be an insult by those who maintain THAT LORD MALMESBURY WAS INSULTED. Monsieur Chauvelin was dismissed from this kingdom, not as Lord Malmesbury was from France, because his terms of negotiation were inadmissible; but because no intercourse *upon any terms* could be admitted to a nation which with cruelty or injustice had put her king to death. I am not justifying or extenuating the REGICIDE — but what had this nation, AS A NATION, to do with it? Would any one of those who, in considering it as a murder to be avenged by England, have been accessory to the deaths of above a million of innocent unoffending men, and to the misery and devastation of Europe, venture now to consider it as a fresh cause of hostilities, if all the crowned heads in Europe were to be cut off by their subjects?—I believe not. Indeed such a cause of war has been since abandoned: but by what stages, upon what principles, and with what consequences, I shall examine hereafter.

In this state of things the king met the parliament on the 12th of December, 1792; when notwithstanding the conciliatory declarations detailed in the preceding correspondence (*to the whole of which parliament was still an entire stranger*), his Majesty was advised

vised by his ministers to repeat the same three direct charges against France, which had been before made to her ambassador, and upon the footing of these complaints, without submitting the answers which had been given to them to the consideration of parliament, they called upon the country to enable them to augment our forces, and mixed in their address to the throne, but still more in the debates which led to it, a language of reproach and insult wholly unexampled in the proceeding of any public council to the government of an independent nation.

To save the country rushing down this precipice of ruin in the phrenzy of alarm, which every nerve of government had been strained to propagate, Mr. Fox, on the 15th of December, when the Speaker of the House of Commons had reported the King's answer to the address of the House, and whilst M. Chauvelin was yet in England, proposed, "*That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, praying that he would be pleased to appoint a minister to be sent to Paris TO TREAT WITH THE PERSONS EXERCISING PROVISIONALLY THE FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE, touching such points as might be in difference between his Majesty and his allies and the French nation.*"

At this time the French government had done no one act which even ministers themselves considered as a foundation for war; since war was not even proposed in the King's speech; but, on the contrary,

*the correspondence not then disclosed to the House, which was going on at this very period, continued to express THE MOST PACIFIC DISPOSITIONS.*

The proposition was therefore the most important in point of matter, and the most critical in point of time, ever offered to the consideration of parliament, and it was made in a manner the most simple and affecting; afraid of irritating where the object was to persuade, and subdued by the dreadfully impending calamities, Mr. Fox put the rein upon that overpowering eloquence which so eminently distinguishes him, and in a very few, plain, unanswerable sentences, beseeched the House to try the effect of negotiation before steps were taken which would inevitably bring on hostilities: to prepare with vigour and firmness for war, but with prudence and gentleness to cultivate peace.

When this proposition was made, THE ANNEXATION OF BELGIUM, now the main obstacle to peace; was disavowed by France; and, as she was a suitor to us besides for our mediation with the Emperor, it is easy to see how sure the road was to its return to its former government. The security of Holland, whilst she preserved her neutrality, was professed, and in a manner guaranteed. The ancient limits of France were proposed as her dominion, and implicit respect was manifested to the independence and constitutions of other nations. Yet so irresistible was the force of delusion and insatiation, that Mr. Fox's proposition,

position, though its object was to secure every thing whilst it conceded nothing, and though it came from a person long the favourite, and with all its leanings still the favourite of the House of Commons, yet it was received amidst almost universal bursts of disapprobation, scarcely indeed with the observances of parliamentary decorum. Some persons long attached to this great man, by friendship as well as opinion, seemed to forget their reverence for his talents and integrity, and one went the length of lamenting *even* his former political attachment to him.

For having made this proposition I will not vindicate Mr. Fox; his own eloquent and masterly vindication of it, his predictions, too fatally accomplished, and the groans of a suffering world, bear awful testimony for him.

At the time this motion was made, the correspondence between Lord Grenville and M. Chauvelin being still kept back from the House of Commons, Mr. Fox himself did not know the additional foundations he had for his proposition: it rested upon his own wise forecast at the time he made it; but, in a few days afterwards, the whole details were communicated by a message from the King,\* and the late House of Commons found in the submissive propositions of France (*which they did not know of*

\* See the King's message to the House of Commons, Jan. 28th, 1793.

when

*when they refused negotiating*) an additional justification for the war. They thanked his Majesty for his gracious communication, and pledged their lives and fortunes to support hostilities.

It is impossible not to pause here, for a moment, to contemplate the probable consequences, if we had attended to the counsels of this exalted and disinterested statesman at that critical and momentous period.

The regular governments of Europe, as if they were one power, surrounded Great Britain with unbroken force and resources ; a confederacy which would have been infinitely more awful and commanding, if the principles of its union had only been common security. Had Great Britain, the first amongst the nations, and enjoying herself a free constitution, accepted the offer of being the arbiters of the repose of Europe, with what a commanding voice might she have spoken to France whilst her factions were tearing one another to pieces, and her government could scarcely support itself during peace !

If, instead of inciting and encouraging the princes of Europe to invade France, for the purpose of dissolving her establishment, we had become her security against their invasions, whilst her revolution should be confined to her own limits and subjects, it is not possible to believe upon any reasoning from human life or experience, that Europe could have now been in its present condition. But if, instead of this *passive* and

and *merely preventive* influence, Great Britain, in the true spirit and in the full ripeness of civil wisdom, had felt a just and generous compassion for the sufferings of the French people; if, seeing them thirsting for liberty, but ignorant of the thousand difficulties which attend its establishment, she had taken a friendly, yet a commanding part; if, not contenting herself with a cold acknowledgment of the king of the French, by the insidious forms of an embassy, she had become the faithful, but at the same time the cautious protector of the first revolution; if she had put the rein upon Europe to prevent its interference, instead of countenancing the confederacy of its powers against it, the unhappy Louis might now have been reigning, according to his oath, over a free people; the horrors of succeeding revolutions might have been averted, and much of that rival jealousy, the scourge of both nations for so many centuries, might, without affecting the happy balances of our mixed constitution, have been gradually and happily extinguished.

The powers that then existed in France, however insincere, or however unsettled in their authority, having proffered the continuance of peace, and having asked our mediation with the Emperor, upon the renunciation of conquest and aggrandizement, and upon the disavowal of interference with the governments of other countries, **WE SHOULD HAVE TAKEN THEM AT THEIR WORDS.** The possible insincerity of the offer, or the weakness of perhaps an expiring  
faction



faction to give it efficacy, would have only added to the predominancy of Great Britain. The magnanimous and beneficent conduct of a powerful nation possessing a free government, admitting the right of another nation to be free, offering its countenance to *rational* freedom, lamenting the departure from its true principles, and demanding only security against its influence to disturb herself, would have been irresistible in its effects. Amidst the tyrannies of quick succeeding factions, the united force of this country and her allies exerted upon such a sound principle, and thrown into the scale of any party in France that might have been willing to preserve the peace, would have given to that party an overruling ascendancy.

This is so true, that we know the share which even Brissot had in the commencement of hostilities, amidst all the provocations to them, was the principal cause of his destruction, and the root of Robespierre's popularity, which enabled him to become the tyrant of France. Nothing, indeed, could have withstood, in the sentiments of that nation, the striking and salutary contrast between being left to the consolidation of her own constitution, without any obstacle but the vices and passions of her own subjects, and the wilful provocation of the whole civilized world encompassing her territories with a force apparently sufficient to crush to pieces her establishment, even if it had not been tottering upon its own basis from internal causes.

But supposing the practicability; or the effects of such a system in Great Britain to be altogether false and visionary; admitting, for the sake of argument, that the agitation of the French Revolution was too violent, and its principles, from the very beginning, too disorganising and mischievous for regular governments, under any restraints, to have intermeddled with or even acknowledged, nothing would follow from the admission in favour of the war; because a sincere yet armed neutrality on the part of Europe would have been the surest and the most obvious course for dissolving the new republic, or, at all events, of recalling it the soonest to some social order of things.

France was at that time (according to the authors of the war) torn to pieces by the most furious and nearly balanced factions, which made her government a mere phantom, competent only to evil, and incapable of good. Be it so.—For that very reason we should have observed the most perfect, and even the most soothing neutrality. Heterogeneous bodies, having no principle of union capable of constituting a substance, and which, if left to themselves, would separate and disperse, may be bound together by external force, and passed through the furnace till they unite and incorporate. This was precisely the case with France. She was rent asunder by the internal divisions of her own people, but cemented again by the conspiracy of kings. Her great leaders were banded against each

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other, not only from the most deadly hatred and the lust of dominion, but separated by the most extravagant zeal for contradictory theories of government, whilst the people were tossed to and fro, the alternate victims of repugnant and desolating changes. In this unexampled crisis, persons, capable upon other occasions of judging with accuracy and acuteness, were looking by every mail for the utter destruction of the French government ; but they had lost the clue to the mystery, or rather to the plain principle which preserved it: the British minister was the guardian angel that hovered over France, and the sole creator of her ominous and portentous strength. The necessity of resisting by combination the external war with which he surrounded her, counteracted the separation arising from her internal commotions. It raised up a proud, warlike, and superior spirit, at the call of national independence, too strong for the inferior spirits, whose enchantments were dissolving her as a nation ; and by the operation of the simplest principles of unalterable and universal nature, rather than from any thing peculiar in the characteristic of Frenchmen, consolidated her mighty republic, and exhibited a career of conquest and glory unequalled in the annals of mankind.

In the same manner the cruel confiscations and judicial murders, which, under the same tyrannies destroying one another, disgraced the earlier periods of the republican revolution, may be mainly ascribed to the same predominant causes. If France had been  
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left by other nations to the good or evil of her own changes, the proscriptions which prevailed for a long season could not have existed in the same extent in any civilised nation, nor even in a nation of human beings : but the reign of terror (as it was well called) must be always a reign of blood, because there is no principle of the human mind so mean or so merciless as fear. In proportion, therefore, as the government of France was shaking by external conspiracies, and trembling for its existence, it became of course more subject to internal agitation by the revolts of its own subjects. Had it not therefore been for our unhappy interference, royalists of the old school, and royalists of the monarchical revolution, bending before the storm of national opinion, and seeing no great standard hoisted for their protection, would have really or seemingly acquiesced in the new order of things ; they would have given little offence or jealousy to the state, and, what is far more important, the state itself, unimpelled by the terrors of revolt and the expences of war, would not have had the same irresistible motives for seizing upon the persons and property of its subjects ; and thus numerous classes of men, possessing dignities and property, which have been chased from their country, or swept off the face of the earth, would have remained within the bosom of France, inactive, indeed, for the present, but whose silent and progressive influence hereafter might have greatly affected the temper, if not the form of the government, at no very distant period.

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This was precisely the case in England upon the death of Charles the First : the nobles and great men of the realm submitted to the protectorship of Cromwell, and Europe acquiesced in it. Cromwell, therefore, executed his authority according to the new forms, but without any system of proscription. The high men of the former period continued to exist, and with all the influences of property, which remained with its ancient possessors ; the monarchy might, therefore, be said to have been rather in abeyance than abolished, and when the return of Charles was planned and executed, every thing stood in its place, and conspired to favour his restoration. But if the nations of Europe had then unsuccessfully combined to restore monarchy in England, as they have lately to restore it in France, the consequences would have been exactly similar. The monarchical party in England would have undoubtedly flocked to the standard : they would have endeavoured by force, or by intrigue, to dissolve the commonwealth ; those who were taken would have been executed as traitors ; others would have been driven out of England as emigrants ; their great estates would have passed into other hands ; a title to them would have been made by the new government to those who, as in France, became the creditors of the public during an exhausting war ; the whole body of nobility and great landed proprietors would have perished in England ; and Charles the Second could no more have landed at Dover than Louis the Eighteenth could offer himself before Calais at this moment.

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It may be asked, why the sagacity of that arch statesman Cromwell did not foresee the consequences I have appealed to? and the application of my whole argument is concluded, and becomes invulnerable by the answer. The answer is—he could not do it. The powers of Europe and his own subjects, through their interference, did not furnish him with the occasion. Neither in England, nor in France, nor in any other country, will men bear bloody murders, or cruel confiscations, but under the pressure of some actual or apparent necessity to form the tyrant's plea. This plausible and unfortunate plea was given by confederated Europe, but principally by England, to the tyrants of France; and thus the Republic became not only consolidated for the present, but the return of such a state of things was inevitably prevented, as might have led to a restoration in France like that which followed the commonwealth in England.

In the first stages of the revolution, the French people, like the English in the last century, had no interest in their government more solid, nor more permanent, than the theories which had given it birth. The French Republic, therefore, like the English commonwealth, had but a precarious and doubtful foundation. But how stands it now, in consequence of our unprincipled and impolitic interference? It stands upon a rock.—It exists no longer from force, but from will. It depends no longer upon opinion, but leans upon interest; and not merely upon that general interest, which, after a state  
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of great agitation, naturally inclines a nation to rest, but upon a particular and individual interest universally spread. The very existence of all classes of the people now depends wholly upon the power and the continuance of the state. There is scarcely any property in France, real or personal, which, in the hands of the present possessors, has any other foundation. There is no ancient undisputed possession of land, which has ever been a title in most changes of human governments: there is no money, which may be buried till the storm is overblown. On the contrary, the land is almost universally held by the public creditors against the former possessors, either under a sale from the government, or as a pledge for money lent to it; and the paper currency of the nation (which is its personal estate) may, without loss to the proprietors, be torn into a thousand pieces, unless the Republic continues to be **ONE AND INDIVISIBLE.**

In the very point of difference at this moment, which stands as a stumbling block in the way of peace, the force of this important truth may speedily be made manifest. With all the influence of the British minister, he cannot probably continue the war for any long season on the score of Belgium; and for this plain reason: the interest which the public ought to take in its separation from France, bears no rational proportion to the price at which it must be purchased through war, supposing the event to be even certain. The people therefore will speedily murmur; and as Mr. Pitt must either abandon Belgium or his situation,

tion, it is easy to anticipate the election he will make. France, on the other hand, will find fewer difficulties with her subjects. The wisdom of ministers has provided against it. Belgium, through the necessities of war, has been pledged to the public creditor, and the surrender of it upon any principle short of a necessity which supersedes all choice, would be a surrender of the very existence of her republic.

I am not defending France; I am stating her actual situation, her views, and her capacities, and am endeavouring to trace them to their original and obvious causes.

But it was a contest, it seems, to save religion and its holy altars from profanation and annihilation. Of all the pretences by which the abused zeal of the people of England has been hurried on to a blind support of ministers, this alarm for the Christian religion is the most impudent and preposterous. How it could succeed, for a moment, in an enlightened age, and with a nation of Christians, will probably be considered hereafter as one of the most remarkable events which has distinguished this age of wonders.

Before this discovery of the present ministers, who had ever heard of the Christianity of the French court, and its surrounding nobles, towards whom the hurricane of revolution was principally directed? Who had ever heard of their evangelical characters so as to lead to an apprehension that Christianity must  
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be extinguished with their extinction? Who that ever really professed the Christian religion, from the times of the apostles to the present moment, ever before considered it as a human establishment, the work of particular men or nations, subject to decline with their changes, or to perish with their falls? No man ever existed who is more alive to every thing connected with the Christian faith than the author of these pages, or more unalterably impressed with its truths; but these very impressions deprive me of any share in that anxious concern of the cabinet at St. James's for the preservation of religion, which was going to ruin, it seems, with the fall of the gross superstitions and abominable corruptions of the priesthood and monarchy of France. Weak men, not to have remembered, before they disturbed the repose of the world by their pious apprehensions, that the fabric of Christianity was raised in direct opposition to all the powers and establishments of the world, and that we have the authority of God himself, that all the nations of the earth shall be finally gathered together under its shadow. Rash men, not to have reflected before they embarked in this crusade of desolation, that however good may be attained through evil, in the mysterious system of Divine Providence, it is not for man to support that religion, which commands peace and good will upon earth, by a deliberate and deep laid system of bloodshed, famine, and devastation. I by no means intend to inculcate by these observations, that, because Christianity, if it be founded in truth, must ultimately prevail

vail over all opposition, that therefore Christian nations, or Christian individuals, are absolved from their activities in its defence, or in its propagation. In this, as in all other human dispensations, the Supreme Being acts by means that are human, and our duties are only exalted instead of being weakened by this awful consideration: but these duties, whilst they serve to quicken our zeal in what is good, can in no instance involve us in what is evil. They dignify that piety which propagates the gospel by Christian charities, but condemn that rashness which would establish or extend it by force.

This condemnation, from the very essence of Christianity, must fall even upon honest error asserting its dominion by the sword: but if the condemnation should ever happen to range more widely, so as to involve ambition, dealing coldly in blood, for its own scandalous purposes, under the garb of meekness and truth, I dare not admit into my mind even an idea of the punishment which ought to follow. I would rather from humanity invoke the patience of God and man, than invite or direct their vengeance.

The pretence of a war waged against opinions to check, as it was alledged, the contagion of their propagation, is equally senseless and extravagant. The same reason might equally have united all nations, in all times, against the progressive changes which have conducted nations from barbarism to light, and from despotism to freedom. It ought indissolubly to have

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combined the catholic kingdoms to wage eternal war, till the principles of the reformation, leading to a new civil establishment, had been abandoned. It should have kept the sword unsheathed until the United Provinces returned to the subjection of Spain, until King William's title and the establishment of the British revolution had given way to the persons and prerogatives of the Stuarts, and until Washington, instead of yielding up the cares of a republican empire to a virtuous and free people, in the face of an admiring and astonished world, should have been dragged as a traitor to the bar of the Old Bailey, and his body quartered upon Tower Hill.

All these changes were alike in their turns calumniated and reprobated, and fought with by the abuses which they disgraced and trampled on. Time has now placed in the shade the arguments and the deeds by which wisdom and valour triumphed: they are there only viewed by learning and retirement, which enables cowardice and folly, by artifices formerly defeated, the easier to impose upon a busy or an unthinking world.

But it is maintained, that independent of the general interest of all nations to suppress irreligion and anarchy, the existence of the French revolution had a direct and immediate bearing on the security of the *British government*; that the political principles which of old divided the country, and formed a salutary opposition to the crown, had taken an entirely new and dangerous

dangerous direction; that the first principles of our mixed and balanced government were held up to derision and reproach; that the privileged orders of the state were mocked and insulted; whilst the reign of liberty, under a republican form, was anticipated with enthusiasm by large classes of the people.

Without at all admitting this to have been the case in the extent contended for, and relying, as I have already done, upon the judgments of our solemn tribunals for the refutation of it; yet, for the sake of the argument, assuming it to be true, I am again utterly at a loss to discover what is gained from the admission by the advocates for the war. Such a disposition in any considerable classes of the people might have called for particular prudence in government, and might have justified particular exertions of police. It might, in the honest opinion of many, have been a strong argument against yielding to any reforms at that particular moment; it might have suggested some reserves in the communications with France, even in times of peace, during the crisis of her political explosion; and it might have justified vigorous prosecutions, carried on in the spirit and according to the practice of the laws. But I demand of the returning reason of the country, how the apprehended danger from the contagion of opinions could possibly be averted by war, or by the concomitant measures which were an inseparable part of the system? Were the forms of our free government likely to be better reconciled to the minds of alienated sub-

jects by depriving them of the actual substance of freedom, which it is the object of all governments to secure? If they were discontented with the English constitution, was it likely that an attack upon the rights of juries, the alteration of the sacred laws of King Edward the Third, and the suspension of the act of Habeas Corpus, would bring them back to their former zeal and admiration of it? If a contempt for their representatives was the crime imputed to them, and a disposition to invade their authority was the danger to be averted, was it the wisest course to erect the House of Commons into a grand jury to find capital bills of indictment for the crown against the people, and to prejudge their causes by publishing the accusing evidence under the crushing weight of their authority? If the aristocratic part of the state was unhappily losing its due estimation in popular opinion, was it prudent, at that particular moment, to destroy all that was venerable in the peerage, from ancient dignities and names of renown in the best times of England, by filling the House of Lord with the proprietors of contemptible boroughs without even a pretence of public service; and advancing to high titles, over the heads of the most ancient peers in the kingdom, men familiar to our recollection in very subordinate situations, marked during their whole lives by their servile dependence upon all ministers, and odious to the people from their notorious attachment to arbitrary principles of government? If it be possible to add to this climax of folly, was it reasonable to expect, that by rushing  
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blindly into war, and thereby imposing the inevitable necessity of new taxes to an incalculable amount, we should purge away the spleen which the very weight of taxes had notoriously engendered? Lastly, was it the right course to escape from the consequences of French opinions, when we knew to a certainty that it was not from the opinions with which we were to fight, but from that very system of war and taxation that we were pursuing, as a remedy for disaffection, that the French monarchy struck upon the rock of revolution?

I desire only to be respected or despised, to be considered as a man of common sense or a madman, as *the fair public* voice of England is *even now* prepared to answer these questions.

The cause of this bold appeal to an enlightened country is obvious. If the question be asked, in what the excellence of every human government must consist; the answer from civilized man throughout the world must be invariable and universal. It is that which secures the ends of civil society with the fewest restraints and at the least expence. This is undoubtedly true government. This is that system of rule and order in society, existing by express or tacit consent, however it may have at first begun, or by whatever progress it may have become established, which secures the greatest number of benefits and enjoyments, and which secures them permanently; which imposes the fewest possible restraints beyond those

those which a sound, moral, and a wise police ought to suggest in every country, and which leaves the subject in full possession of all that industry or harmless chance can bring along with them, subject only to the ordinary internal expences of a frugal government, and the extraordinary contributions, to secure its preservation and independence. This was once the emphatical description of the English government, but it is insensibly ceasing to be so : not that the constitution is lost ; but that its inestimable object is in the course of being sacrificed to a false and pretended zeal for its preservation. Taxation, as I have just observed, is the universal price which must universally be paid as a security for a national establishment ; but there are limits to every thing ; if by rash and unnecessary wars, and by a venal system of expenditure, even in times of peace the revenue gets to the point which, *without instant repentance and reformation*, is fast approaching ; the nation (by which I mean the great mass and body of the people) can have no longer any possible interest in the defence or preservation of their government : for if this system of finance is persisted in, what has government in the end to secure ? Not the property of the people derived from their industry, but the property of the public creditor, to whom that industry is pledged ; and thus all the majesty and dignity of the state may degenerate into a mere machinery, necessary to protect the legalized incumbrance by further burdens on the subject, whose labour and existence are mortgaged. In such a situation, a government may too late

late discover its error and insecurity; because the very zeal of the higher orders which encourages it in its extravagance, is, upon the first principle of human nature, an inducement to the lower orders to revolt. Adverting to this awful consideration, I have been shocked in the extreme at the late ostentatious triumph of the loan by subscription. Very many persons, I am persuaded, have subscribed to it from real motives of public spirit, and their exertion was a most seasonable and critical relief to the state; but passing by the condition to which ministers have reduced their country, when public spirit may be really manifested towards a government by a loan which would conduct a private lender to a prison as an usurer, what must be the reflections of the middle classes and the labouring poor of England upon the facility of taxation, which this sort of patriotism produces? The rich lend their money at ten per cent. but the public industry is mortgaged for the payment of the interest, and every article of consumption is already almost beyond the reach of the artificer and husbandman, screwed up as they are in proportion as they happen to come within the vortex of this accumulating revenue.

To what length this system may extend without a great public calamity, I purposely avoid discussing; but the support given by the delusion of the higher classes of the public to a system of measures at once so weak and so destructive, so unjust to the people, and so destructive to themselves, posterity,



posterity, if not the present generation, may have occasion to lament in unavailing sackcloth. The danger to the monied interest and the proprietors of the funds, by the present unexampled expenditure, is certainly the most prominent and imminent. A danger which they have themselves provoked, and which is becoming critical by their own infatuation. But the proprietors of lands would do well to recollect also that their situation is scarcely preferable. The war could neither have been begun nor continued to this hour, if the great representatives of the landed interest had not supported the ministers who projected it; and I cannot believe that the people of Great Britain, whose fortunes depend upon public credit, or the Parliament representing that people, will ever consent either to a bankruptcy or to any insolvent composition with the government, without a process, which in the horrors of revolution would be a disgraceful confiscation; but which in the legal reformatations, imposed by necessity and justice upon the councils of a moral and intelligent people, would teach every distinct class and order of mankind, that their interests are inseparably interwoven with the interest of the whole community; and that they must always bear their contingent in the final settlement of a national account.

Amongst the public supporters in Parliament of these measures I am complaining of, and amongst the higher classes of men, who with equal zeal have privately supported them, I know there are many,

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very many persons of the first honour, of the clearest integrity, and the best general sense, however misguided upon this particular subject. Indeed, it is a matter of great comfort to me to believe, as I do most firmly, that notwithstanding the wide range of luxury and corruption, the nation is enlightened and virtuous. I desire, indeed, to fasten personal ignominy or reproach upon no individual, public or private. I leave every man's motives to his own conscience, and to Him who alone can search them. But these concessions, which private honour and public decency alike exact from me, leave me nevertheless in full possession of the privilege of a British subject, which I shall fearlessly proceed to exercise, by charging the full, exclusive, and constitutional responsibility of all consequences upon those ministers who have officially advised and conducted the measures which produced them.

To estimate rightly the extent of this responsibility, let us look at the comparative condition of Great Britain, if even fortitude and patience can bear to look at it, had the present war been avoided by prudent councils; and if the one hundred millions of money absolutely thrown away upon it, or even half of that sum had been raised by a vigorous and popular administration for the reduction of the national debt. Fancy can hardly forbear to indulge in such a renovating scene of prosperity; a scene which unhappily it is now her exclusive and melancholy privilege to resort to.

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We should have seen a moral, ingenious, and industrious people, consenting to an encrease of burdens to repair the errors of their fathers, and to ward off their consequences from crushing their posterity ; but enjoying under the pressure of them the virtuous consolation, that they were laying the foundation of a long career of national happiness ; seeing every relaxed and wearied sinew of the government coming back to its vigour, not by sudden rest, which is an enemy to convalescence, but by the gradual diminution of the weight which overpressed them. Observing new sources of trade and manufacture bursting forth like the buds of the spring, as the frosts of winter are gradually chased away, and seeing with pride and satisfaction, in the hands of a wise and frugal government, a large and growing capital for the refreshment of all its dependencies. To encourage and to extend marine establishments, our only real security against the hour when ambition might disturb the repose of nations. To give vigour to arts and manufactures, by large rewards and bounties. To feed and to employ the poor, by grand and extensive plans of national improvement. To remove by degrees the pressure of complicated revenue, and with it the complicated and galling penalties inseparable from its collection. To form a fund, to bring justice within the reach and to the very doors of the poor, and, by a large public revenue at the command of the magistracy, to ward off the miseries, the reflection of which, under the best system of laws in the world, and under their purest administration, have wrung with frequent sorrow

forrow the heart of the writer of these pages. And, finally, to enable this great, benevolent, and enlightened country, with a more liberal and exhaustless hand, to advance in her glorious career of humanising the world, and spreading the lights of the gospel to the uttermost corners of the earth. All these animating visions are, I am afraid, fled for ever. It will be happy now if Great Britain, amidst the sufferings and distresses of her inhabitants, can maintain her present trade, and preserve, even with all its defects, her present inestimable constitution.

Having shewn the origin of the war, and the exertions made by the small minority in Parliament, I now proceed to expose to the nation the blindness and obstinacy with which it was pursued; in spite of a series of the most favourable opportunities to terminate it with advantage in the beginning, and in defiance afterwards of a chain of events in rapid and disastrous succession, which manifested the utter impracticability of the objects for which it was persevered in. I will do this from a short review of the principal proceedings of Parliament upon the subject, which speak for themselves; their existence cannot be denied, nor their contents misrepresented with effect. I select those of the House of Commons, not only because I was personally present at most of them, but because they are notoriously the foundation of all the transactions of government.

Hostilities had scarcely been commenced, when the subject was again brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Grey; a gentleman who has justly endeared himself to his country by his able and indefatigable exertions throughout every stage of this extraordinary conjuncture, and who has secured to himself the well-earned fame of a most accomplished orator, and, what is better, of an honest statesman, in times of unexampled profligacy and corruption.

On the 21st of February, 1793, Mr. Grey proposed an address to the King, exposing the misconduct of his ministers in plunging the nation into war without any adequate necessity, and lamenting the pretexts by which its popularity was promoted, in surprising the humanity of Englishmen into measures which their deliberate judgements would condemn, and by influencing their most virtuous sensibilities into a blind and furious zeal for a war of vengeance. The conclusion “ *implored his Majesty to seize the most immediate opportunity of putting a stop to the hostilities which threatened all Europe with the greatest calamities.* ”

No other answer was given to this seasonable proposition, than that the House had already and recently decided upon the question; and not only no step was taken to open the way to negotiation, but, on the contrary, *after many other fruitless attempts towards the same object*, his Majesty's ministers, at the opening

opening of the following session, on the 21st of January, 1794, with greater sincerity than has in general characterized their proceedings, boldly and plainly avowed the principle on which the war had been begun, and was to be prosecuted, viz. “ *To oppose that wild and destructive system of rapine, anarchy, impiety, and irreligion; the effects of which, as they had been manifested in France, furnished a dreadful but useful lesson to the present age and posterity.*” This was the avowed principle of continuing the war, as appears by a reference to his Majesty’s speech \*.—Not a word was said upon the footing of territory and conquest, although all the Austrian Netherlands had then been reduced under the government of the Emperor, although Mentz had been re-captured, and soon after Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoy, taken; and although Holland had been delivered from an impending invasion.

Under these circumstances, so favourable for negotiation, so critical for terminating the war on terms advantageous to England and her allies, (*if it had proceeded upon any rational intelligible foundation*) not only no motion was made towards an amicable arrangement, but a principle of hostilities was thus openly developed, which wholly and absolutely precluded the return of peace.

This declaration of ministers, as contained in the King’s Speech, was the more striking and extraor-

\* Vide the King’s Speech, 21st Jan. 1794.

dinary, as it directly refuted their own unfounded assertion, that the war had proceeded from France. Mr. Pitt had continued to assert in Parliament, long after the dismissal of Chauvelin, *that the King had still left the door open to negociation and amicable adjustment* : yet no sooner was the war begun than its continuance was avowed and supported upon a principle, which shewed that peace could, under no concessions of France, have been preserved. For as the war was to be waged to subdue principles and opinions; to change the government and not to punish overt acts of insult; or to enforce restitution; it is plain, *that the door had never been left open at all*, as the minister had pretended; since France was precisely in the same state at this moment as when M. Chauvelin was ordered to quit the kingdom: and if the return of peace was at the opening of the session declared to be inadmissible, whilst the principles of her government continued, it follows, that the original preservation of peace must have been equally inadmissible, whatever concessions might have been made by France to preserve it; since the self-same system existed at the commencement of the war, which was now pronounced to be an insuperable obstacle to negociation. I hope the time is now arrived, or at least is rapidly arriving, when the calm common sense of the country will detect such palpable duplicity.

This new and fatal principle of hostility was rendered still more clear from the posture of the debate upon the address; which was led, on the part of the  
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government, by the Earl of Mornington, in a very able and complicated speech, the result of much thought and labour, and delivered with great force. It was afterwards published as a sort of creed of ministers upon the subject of the war. Towards the conclusion of this speech, as far as I could hear distinctly from the enthusiastic approbation which the sentiment produced, it contained these expressions: "*That whilst the present, or any Jacobin government continued in France, no proposition for peace could be received or proposed by England.*" I forbear to remark upon the fallacy of the means by which this stout proposition was justified; time has unfortunately been beforehand with me upon the subject; events have already trampled upon the principles, and refuted the calculations.

Upon this occasion the Minister, the House, and the Nation, received another solemn warning from Mr. Fox, against the phrenzy of thus pursuing a contest big with the most ruinous consequences, *without any defined or definable object*. This extraordinary man, summoning up all the mighty powers of his capacious mind, in a speech of unparalleled depth, comprehension, and eloquence, detailed the inevitable consequences of such a proceeding: he predicted the future consolidation of France from our very efforts to destroy her: he anticipated the dissolution of a confederacy cemented by no intelligible principle of common interest: he looked forward to the defection of some, to the subjugation of others, and  
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with a too prophetic pencil (would to God he had been permitted to expunge the scene again by his own councils!) painted the melancholy and disastrous state to which his country would in the end be reduced, and which I assert to be nearly her condition at this moment. Left almost single as we are upon the theatre of war—asking for peace, but asking for it in vain, upon terms which without war were not only within our reach to obtain, but left to us to dictate—asking for peace in France under the pressure of a necessity created by our own folly—asking it of the regicide Directory, whose existence (I appeal to Mr. Burke and Lord Fitzwilliam) was pronounced to be perpetual war. Silent upon the subject of religion, without any atonement to its violated altars—and seeking by a thousand subterfuges and artifices unworthy of a great nation (and which must and will certainly be unsuccessful) to restore peace without humbling the pride of the ministers who provoked the war, by consenting to terms which nothing but their own imbecility could have raised France to the condition of offering, or have reduced England to the mortification of accepting.\*

In order to relieve the country from the horrible condition of thus waging a war without a defined object, and consequently without a prospect of termination, Mr. Grey, on the 26th of January, 1795,

\* A motion for peace was also made in the House of Lords, on the 17th of February, by the Marquis of Lansdown, supported by a most enlightened and convincing speech upon the rottenness of that confederacy which has since fallen to pieces.

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made a motion "*to declare it to be the opinion of the House of Commons, that the existence of the present government of France ought not to be considered as precluding at that time a negotiation for peace.*"

At this time his Majesty's ministers had begun to open their eyes to the improbability of restoring the French Monarchy, or, indeed, any monarchical establishment in France, and had begun to see also the danger of being pledged to war during the existence of her republican constitution. For although Mr. Grey's proposition had been *distinctly stated, and as clearly and distinctly accepted for debate by the minister*, as if it had been an issue framed by lawyers for judicial decision, yet on the day of the motion he fled from the discussion thus tendered and received, and interposed the following dexterous, but disastrous, amendment—" *Declaring the determination of the House to support the King in the prosecution of the just and necessary war, and praying his Majesty to employ the resources of the country to prosecute it with vigour and effect* UNTIL A PACIFICATION COULD BE EFFECTED ON JUST AND HONOURABLE TERMS WITH ANY GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE CAPABLE OF MAINTAINING THE ACCUSTOMED RELATIONS OF PEACE AND AMITY WITH OTHER COUNTRIES."

The object of this amendment which the *late* House of Commons adopted is almost too plain for commentary. The minister, unable to justify an absolute refusal of negotiation *upon any terms* with the

existing French government, but being resolved not to negotiate FOR THE PRESENT, nor to pledge himself to any FUTURE period when he would negotiate, nor to any distinct principles or circumstances by which he might stand in any degree pledged at any time upon the subject, had recourse to the absolutely *general* terms of his own amendment to evade Mr. Grey's proposition. What sort of government it was, or might be, which should create or secure this capacity of maintaining *the relations of amity* he reserved for his own single determination, to be afterwards exercised just as it might suit his convenience from the contingencies of adversity or success. If success attended the war, he might continue to deny the capacity of preserving amity, and pursue the system of subjugation or utter extermination; whilst on the other hand, if the adversity foretold to him overtook him, he might recede from his haughty pretensions without inconsistency or humiliation, and, without any change of the principles to be subdued by war, declare the return of a social and civil capacity of his own mere creation.

If this transaction, pregnant with so many dangers, were not thus authenticated by the very Journals of Parliament, the historian who should venture to transmit it to future times would scarcely find credit for his narration.

We see a mighty and warlike nation, with a population of twenty-five millions of souls, situated too at our very doors, and with which therefore sooner or

later we must either cultivate a friendly intercourse, or live in a perpetual state of warfare; we see such a community put with a single stroke of the pen out of the pale and communion of civilized nations. We see her (whilst, strange to tell! peace was avowed to be our object) branded in the face of all Europe as a standing plague, abomination, and reproach, not upon any recent act of aggression or insult, nor upon any actual or alledged resistance to propositions of peace and amity from ourselves or from other nations, but only upon this arrogant and insulting pretext of a politic incapacity wholly and purposely undefined.

By this unparalleled procedure, the French nation, instead of being drawn insensibly back to the humane and social order from which the paroxysms of her revolution had diverted her—instead of being at once awed by and reconciled to Great Britain, from seeing her pursuing a system active only as it regarded her own security, but in all other respects neutral, and even complacent, she has been brought to a temper of rooted jealousy and disgust: and, as an animal pursued beyond the ordinary course for which its common powers and instincts are bestowed, rises to a pitch of sagacity, strength, and boldness, which the natural historian can take no account of,—so France, thus baited and insulted, thus surrounded by nations with the arm of death lifted against her, has equally put at fault the ordinary calculations of national exertions, and brought this rash and dangerous mi-

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nister to a state of repentance unfortunately too late for his country.

The charge which this transaction establishes against him is of the most serious and heavy complexion. We are now defired by this very minister to raise the cry against the ambition of France; against her insolent demeanour on the subject of peace, and her contempt of the balances which treaties have established in Europe. If to obey this call would serve the interests of my country, I should think it a pious fraud to burn these pages, and to join in the abuse. But as railing at our enemies will neither conciliate nor subdue them, it is fit to recollect that the insolence of *her* deportment has been dictated, if not justified, by *our own*. It is the British minister who has enabled France to hold a language which it may not, perhaps, be in our power to silence; and which, under similar circumstances, would be the universal language of man from the Pole to the Equator, if French principles, French opinions, and French revolution, had never existed in the world.

Every people, so absurdly and impolitically outraged, would hold this language to us:—You, who now from no justice or good-will towards us, but under the pressure of a necessity created by yourselves, present yourselves at Paris with the balance of Europe in your hands, which you call upon us to respect; you were the first to break it to pieces for our destruction. You expunged us even from amongst the  
nations

nations whose aggregate compose that Europe you would thus adjust and balance ; and you invited all the nations, which should be poised in its scales for common security, to put themselves together into one scale to crush and overwhelm us. In the resistance of this unprincipled conspiracy, and for our own security against its effects, we have seized upon the territories of the principal conspirator, and we will preserve them as a barrier against the dangers we have surmounted, which, under other circumstances, might have been fatal. You now talk to us of your treaty with this Emperor, and we have no right to question the merit of that fidelity which binds you to each other. If you agreed not to lay down the sword but by common consent, it is not for France to argue Great Britain into a breach of her obligations. But what have we to do with the terms of a treaty between the Emperor and England which had our utter destruction as a nation for its foundation ; and if, as you assert, (perhaps with reason) that it is inadmissible for France to set up the annexation of Belgium, and the demands *of her constitution* as a bar to the proposed retrocession, it is no less inadmissible for Great Britain to set up *HER own treaties* with belligerent nations made without the consent of France, and made only for her destruction, as *her ultimatum* for the restoration of the peace which *she* proposes.

Would to God this were the language of speculation only—if it were so, it should not be publicly mine—but it is the actual language of the councils of France,

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as will appear more distinctly in the sequel—as against ministers it is an argument of weight; but I hope to shew hereafter, that under other councils it never could have been held, and would not even now be held in the same extent or in the same temper against the British nation in its old, simple, manly, and august character of freedom.

Ministers cannot hereafter be sheltered from the responsibility of these proceedings upon the plea of inadvertency or mistake. Their danger and impolicy, and their certain effect to produce the very conjuncture we are at this moment placed in, was insisted on before the late Parliament in both Houses in a series of motions, one after another, during two whole sessions, conducted with such great abilities, and supported by such obvious policy, that though they had no effect within doors, they wrought an insensible effect upon the public, which, mixed with the distresses of the war, and the impracticability of its object, convinced the minister that his pretensions must at last be abandoned, and led him, amidst the struggles of obstinacy and necessity, to pursue that system of management, duplicity, and evasion, which has placed us, at length, in our present situation.

On the 6th of February, 1795, Mr. Grey moved a resolution, that without presuming to dictate or to suggest the time, or the mode, or the lines of negotiation, only sought to remove the formal obstacle  
by

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by the acknowledgment of a power in France competent to negotiate; “ and appealing for that competency not only to the universal principles on which  
 “ all nations had ever acted towards each other, but  
 “ to the practice and experience of the United States  
 “ of America, and of several powers of Europe in  
 “ amity with the French republic.”

This resolution was considered by the minister to be in substance the same which had been made in the January preceding, and was disposed of accordingly by the previous question. But Mr. Wilberforce, member for Yorkshire, struck I must suppose by the unanswerable principle and moderation of the proposition, divided with the minority; declaring that the language in the address to his Majesty’s speech, and on various other occasions having held out to the French, that we would not treat with their present rulers, it was fit that that insurmountable obstacle to peace should immediately be removed. And that as the latter part of the resolution had no other object, he should give it his support.

I mention this circumstance, because it proves to a demonstration, *that independently of all terms of negotiation, the incapacity of France to negotiate continued to be the ruling principle of the war.*

That the session might not pass away, leaving the affairs of the public in a condition so unexampled, more especially, as it was plain from a thousand cir-

cumstances,



cumstances, that before Parliament could re-assemble, the condition of Great Britain would be less commanding, Mr. Fox, on the 24th of March, moved that the House might resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider of the state of the nation. I had the good fortune to hear the noble oration by which this motion was supported. Its principal heads and arguments the public is happily possessed of ; but not of all the subordinate parts which connected them together, much less of that awful and commanding eloquence which brought home every part of it to the understanding and the heart. It did not, however, add a single name to the division; and although the internal commotions of France were then fast subsiding, though her present constitution was in a state of organization, though the King of Prussia's conduct was more than ambiguous, though the French had penetrated into the heart of Catalonia, and a peace of necessity with Spain was inevitably approaching, and though we were proceeding by remonstrance against the Swiss cantons, Tuscany, and Genoa, on the subject of their neutrality; yet the Parliament was prorogued without any inquiry into the past, or plan or object for the future; an insuperable obstacle of peace was wantonly preserved, and France was left under the ban of excommunication to exhaust our resources, to separate us from our allies, to extend her conquests, and upon the unalterable and universal principles of human conduct, to nourish that spirit of distrust and animosity, at which we now affect to be surprised.

When

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When the Parliament met, on the 29th of October, 1795, some of the changes in the affairs of Europe, which all the world, except ministers, had seen the certain approach of, had arrived, and the rest were following. The detestable expedition at Quiberon had failed; and covered its authors with everlasting shame; all prospect of keeping up rebellion in La Vendée had vanished, and France was far advanced in the organization of her present constitution; many of our possessions in the West Indies had been overrun and pillaged, the King of Prussia had totally departed from his alliance, and Spain had been forcibly detached from it; the dominion of the Stadtholder had passed away, and his Majesty declared to us to be in a state of war with subjugated Holland. Ministers, however, saw nothing in all this, disastrous or alarming—on the contrary, his Majesty's speech began with the following encouraging declaration :

*“ It is a great satisfaction to me to reflect, that notwithstanding the many events unfavourable to the common cause, the prospect resulting from the general situation of affairs has, in many respects, been materially improved in the course of the present war.”*

Amongst the enumerated improvements, the alteration in the affairs of France was not omitted, and would probably have appeared the most striking and remarkable if it had not been wholly eclipsed by the conclusion which was drawn from it.

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money of England pouring out, in the mean time, until our constitution-mongers and augurs of political capacities should be satisfied that France was fit to be received into the holy communion of the robbers and destroyers of Poland.

“ The longest day will have an end.” In only a little more than a month after this period, France had completed her probation to the satisfaction of his Majesty’s ministers, who accordingly advised the King to send a message to the Commons on the 9th of December, acquainting the House, “ *That the crisis which was depending at the beginning of the session, had led to such a state of things, as would induce his Majesty to meet any disposition to negotiation on the part of the enemy, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect, and to conclude a treaty of general peace whenever it could be effected on just and suitable terms for his Majesty and his allies.*”

It is fit to pause here a little to examine this declaration; to consider to what, in honest effect, though not in precise words, it pledged the ministers who advised it, that we may be enabled to examine the correspondence or repugnancy of their subsequent conduct to their solemn engagements in the mouth of their Sovereign.

The declaration admits the return of France to a capacity to maintain the common relations of peace and

and amity, because, though it masks this capacity under the vague designation of *a state of things*, yet a readiness to negotiate, in avowed conformity with the King's former declarations, amounts to a substantive admission, that the *formerly declared obstacle* to peace from the condition of France was done away. Moreover, by the expression of an earnest desire, on the part of his Majesty, to give the fullest effect to the speediest negotiation of an honourable peace, it unquestionably bound the ministers to take some immediate step to manifest the sincerity of that declaration. But mark the reservation obviously introduced into the message to nullify this whole proceeding.

Ministers were pledged to no *active* step whatsoever: on the contrary, the language of the message completely secured to them the privilege of continuing perfectly passive upon the subject of peace. His Majesty only expressed his readiness to *meet* any disposition *on the part of his enemies* to negotiate. Now, considering again the royal declaration as not at all personal to the King, but wholly as the act of his ministers, in what language shall I speak of it? Where or how was his Majesty, in the nature of things, to *meet* such pacific dispositions, however they might have been entertained on the part of France? The British government, by the various acts of its Crown and Parliament (enumerated in the preceding pages), had interposed a positive and public obstacle to negotiation—it had declared the incapacity of the  
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French government; an obstacle the most insulting and degrading ever offered by one independent nation to another; and, notwithstanding this declaration of the new state of things in the message, it is plain that this obstacle still continued.

The declaration was a mere private communication of the King of Great Britain *to his own Parliament*: it contained no signification *to France* of this change of sentiment regarding her government. The existence of a government was not even acknowledged.—If indeed his Majesty had accompanied the communication to his own Parliament with an authoritative declaration to the new government of France, acknowledging its civil capacity as the representative of the French nation, and expressing a readiness to negotiate, even in the passive language of the message, I should then have considered such a proceeding as a fair motion towards peace. But I again make my constant appeal to the enlightened good sense of the country, whether, without making France at all a party to this proceeding, without any declaration *to her*, that we saw that capacity in her government admitted by the message, but which we had so long denied, it was possible ministers could believe for a moment that they were really advancing in the work of peace. I desire to stand or fall in the whole of what I have written, as this plain question shall be answered by every man whose reason is not disordered, or whose heart is not corrupted.

When

When the message came to be taken into consideration in the House of Commons on the 9th of December, the remarks I have made upon the wording of it were completely illustrated. The address breathed nothing but vigorous preparations for continuing the war---not a hint was given of any communication to France of our sentiments concerning her new government; nor was there any thing in the language of ministers that could lead France even to believe, that we looked towards a negotiation in the genuine temper and spirit of peace.

In opposition to this address, an amendment was moved by Mr. Sheridan, “ lamenting that his Majesty had ever been led to consider the internal order of things in France as an obstacle to peace, because, if the present order of things were admitted as the inducement to negotiation, a change of that order of things might be considered as a ground for discontinuing negotiation begun, or even for abandoning a treaty concluded; and praying his Majesty to give distinct directions, that immediate negotiation might be entered upon for the above salutary object.” I forbear to notice the powerful manner by which this most seasonable proposition was supported, because it might seem as if it were the only occasion in which this extraordinary person had employed his great talents in Parliament upon the subject of the war. I have not before had occasion to name Mr. Sheridan, because my object naturally led me to the propositions made in Parliament

ment during the war, and not to the debates on them, which are in the hands of every body; but when I am brought to name him as the mover of this amendment, it is but a just tribute to so happy an union of public spirit and genius, to express my admiration of the various powers of his mind, which nature has so seldom united. A superior and sublime eloquence, the force of sound reasoning, and the happiest command of wit; which serves occasionally to expose when no arguments would defeat, and which affords the happiest illustration of Pope's description of this rare and useful qualification.

For the same reasons, let me not be thought to have overlooked the merits of the few excellent and accomplished persons who compose the minority in both Houses of Parliament, and who have distinguished themselves by their talents and steadiness in the cause of their country---amidst the most mortifying and dispiriting circumstances which ever attended any opposition in British Houses of Parliament. This small body of men have stood firmly and indefatigably at their posts, animated by the sensations which a great moral writer ascribes to greatness under temporary depression and neglect; "Little disappointed, not at all dejected, relying upon their own merit with steady consciousness; and waiting, without impatience, the vicissitudes of opinion and the impartiality of a future generation."

From

From the 9th of December, 1795, when this message from the King was agitated, and the proposition for negotiation was negatived, until the 8th of March, 1796, when Mr. Wickham transmitted the note\* to M. Barthelemi, no motion whatsoever, directly or indirectly, was made by ministers towards peace—on the contrary, when they were again urged to it by a motion of Mr. Grey, in the House of Commons, on the 6th of February, the answer was, that though the negotiation had been declared inadmissible, they were not to be bound hand and foot to negotiate; and we are now therefore brought, at last, to the period of Mr. Wickham's proposition, the true criterion by which the wisdom and sincerity of ministers, on the subject of peace, must be estimated; not only because both the time and the mode were the result of their own long deliberations, but because they have been pleased to assert, in his Majesty's late royal declaration, "*that the step in question was the best calculated for its object; that the answer of the French government was haughty and evasive, and affected to question the sincerity of those dispositions of which His Majesty's conduct afforded so UNEQUIVOCAL A PROOF.*" Laying in my constitutional claim, a third time, to consider his Majesty's declaration as the declaration of his minister merely, and for which he is personally responsible, I

\* See the note alluded to in his Majesty's late message, and printed with the other parts of the negotiation, on Lord Malmesbury's return from Paris, for the use of both Houses of Parliament.



utterly deny that the best step, or that any just or rational step was taken by ministers in Mr. Wickham's propositions towards peace. And I assert, that it was impossible that France should not actually entertain that suspicion of our sincerity which the declaration charges to be affected.

In order to establish the grounds of this assertion, I desire only to recur to the observation which I have already made upon his Majesty's message in the December preceding.

Till that time, France had been declared incapable of maintaining the common civil intercourse of nations. Her government had been publicly branded to all Europe as a den of tyrants and robbers, and her country had been invaded, not only by foreign war, but by her revolted subjects, under English banners, to desolate France by intestine and civil fury.

I am not now re-arguing the impropriety of such a proceeding, I am only stating the fact, in order to estimate its natural effects.

When Mr. Wickham made his proposition in March, no notification (as I have observed already) had been given to France that any change of sentiment had taken place in the British councils on the subject of her government, neither could she read it in the conduct of the war. England was still endeavouring to engage the activity of her allies in the  
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original cause which had confederated Europe. She continued as before to subsidize the Emperor, and, what is more important, she continued to pay the army of the Prince of Condé, made up of French noblemen, who could not be supposed to be fighting for the new French constitution, and whom, by the bye, they never took into pay until they had in effect given up the very cause for which these unfortunate men were contending,

Under these circumstances, could France really believe that we were sincerely converted to her republican government by the division of the Council of Ancients from the Council of Five Hundred, and in the striking similitude between the five persons of the Directory and the hereditary unity of the monarchical part of a state? Had we acknowledged her government? or had we told her of this happy and wonderful conversion? or is there a man of honour in England, who will lay his hand upon his heart and say, that he believes this new French constitution, this legitimate infant of a month old, was the cause of the King's message? Nay, further, who will not admit that the growing necessities of the country, and the feelings of the people on the subject of the war, did not solely and singly produce it? And that ministers were feeling their way towards peace, whilst they were taking the chance of the tables to support and to triumph in the war? Let Mr. Burke and Lord Fitzwilliam answer these questions, respectable witnesses as they are, from the consistency of their testimony.—

Let them tell us upon their honours, where was the difference between this new order of things expressed in the King's message, and the old order of things, which was with them and ministers together, *and still with them*, the foundation of the war with France, and the flame that fed it from the beginning. How could we then be so weak as to expect, that a most subtle, insulted, and enraged enemy, would believe what we do not believe ourselves, and what no man of common sense ever did, or to the end of the world will believe.

But supposing these observations to be out of the question, was there any thing in the mode of Mr. Wickham's proposition as connected with the antecedent or with the existing relations of the two countries, which gave it even the air of a serious and manly embassy from one great state at war with another; Mr. Wickham had no diplomatic character conferred upon him for the purpose of negotiation—he was only the minister to the Swiss cantons: he had no specific instructions from his court on the subject, except indeed those which he communicated to Mr. Barthelemi, viz. “That he was NOT IN ANY MANNER AUTHORIZED TO ENTER WITH HIM INTO ANY NEGOCIATION OR DISCUSSION UPON THE SUBJECT OF HIS NOTE.”

The object, therefore, of Mr. Wickham's proposition, and the extent of this authority, were to pump M. Barthelemi. A new title in the code of diplomacy,

macy, perfectly suitable to the novel principles upon which the war had been engaged. But what must be decisive with every thinking person, that ministers were rather seeking for some public justification for continuing the war than anxiously looking for an opening towards peace, is their conduct upon receiving the answer of France transmitted to Mr. Wickham.

This answer, like the late one to Lord Malmesbury at Paris, set up the French constitution as an absolute bar to the cession of any part of the territory of the republic, but in other respects inviting negotiation.

Now I am not at all about to justify this pretension of France, far less the reason of it, which I consider to be perfectly frivolous, and unworthy of a great and enlightened nation in its communication with another; but for that very reason I consider the answer as more favourable for continuance of negotiation than if she had refused the cession on the ground of national safety produced by the aggressions of the confederacy; because as no determination was expressed to keep Belgium, except for a reason which further discussion might well have shewn to be no reason at all, it appears to me to have opened to ministers (had they really been anxious for peace) a far better opportunity for keeping negotiation open, than when they afterwards sent Lord Malmesbury to Paris to recommence it; and which,  
if

if accompanied with a gentleness and frankness, not only consistent with, but the very characteristic of, independence and greatness, might have been attended with the most salutary consequences. Instead of this, what was the conduct of the very men who now talk to us of their sincerity, and who demand our confidence as peace-makers?

Although Mr. Wickham's note was a collateral, private, and, I might almost say, a confidential communication from Mr. Wickham to M. Barthelemi, to sound the dispositions of the French government as a channel to further communications; yet no sooner was this answer given, and by the same collateral mode of communication we had ourselves prescribed, than we immediately and eagerly seized the opportunity of officially \* publishing it to all Europe in the name of the Court of London, making it the vehicle of fresh abuse upon France, and of a new spur to the vigorous prosecution of the war.

But what is worst of all (and for which, in my opinion, ministers deserve the severest censure and punishment), they dictated in this note a language for their sovereign to all the courts of Europe, containing a pledge scarcely preserved already, and from which, perhaps, it may be wisdom hereafter wholly to depart. "*While these dispositions shall be persisted in,*" (says the note of the court of London, adverting to the refusal

\* Vide the note dated 10th of April, 1796, lately published for the use of the two Houses of Parliament.

to disannex any part of the French territory) “*nothing is left for the King but to prosecute a war equally just and necessary.*” The note then goes on to say, “*that whenever the King’s enemies should manifest more pacific sentiments, his Majesty would THEN concur with his allies in measures the best calculated to restore peace.*”

Now let us see how well his Majesty’s ministers have maintained this dignified language of their Sovereign ; let us examine whether, for the mere purpose of obtaining money for the prosecuting their favourite war, they did not hold out fallacious hopes of peace when not a shadow of new hope existed ; whether they did not make his Majesty *lower the tone of his public declaration to all Europe*, by sending a public embassy to Paris without any manifestations of more pacific sentiments in our enemies ; and whether, for the mere occasion, they did not falsely create a strong sensation in the public mind on the subject of peace. Whether they did not tacitly, and in substance, hold out that something important had happened since the date of the circular note of the court of London, opening a new prospect of treating with effect, although they knew that things were not merely in the same condition, but in a much worse ; because the interval had not been employed in conciliatory conduct ; because the French might have been expected to be more haughty by recent successes, which were beyond the reach of imagination in the March preceding ; and because, nevertheless, ministers-  
had

had privately resolved to resist their former pretensions opposed to Mr. Wickham's negotiation by an absolute *sine qua non* in the front of the new one to be set on foot.

It would be an affront to the public to maintain by argument what speaks for itself, yet, to preserve the thread of the proceeding, some notice must be taken of this important embassy.

I have long had the honour to be well acquainted with Lord Malmesbury; I greatly respect his diplomatic talents, and I see no reason to change my opinion from any thing which is personal to him in the late negotiation. I lament the narrowness of his powers, and, indeed, if I were personally his enemy, I might as well abuse the bell man, if I received a libel by the post, as reflect upon a messenger because he happens to be called an ambassador.

From the 9th of April last, the date of the circular note of the court of London, till the opening of the new Parliament in November, which announced Lord Malmesbury's mission, no intermediate step towards negotiation had been taken; and a very strong sensation began to prevail in the public mind on the subject. From the enormous public expenditure more alarming difficulties, in the way of the supplies, were at the same time approaching than any British minister ever had to encounter. The ordinary plan of a common loan was abandoned; and, as it was impossible

possible to foresee with certainty the resources which the overflowing zeal of the public so rapidly provided, schemes of finance wholly new to England, and alien to her constitution, were publicly in agitation. Nothing, indeed, but Lord Malmesbury's mission could probably have prevented the experiment; but a direct motion towards peace by a dignified embassy, and the prospect of obtaining it, which was industriously held out also, naturally animated the public zeal, and supplied with popularity the necessities of government.

To give time for this operation, was the obvious plan of the forms in which Lord Malmesbury was instructed to negotiate. Ministers had determined (no matter whether properly or not) to insist, that Belgium should not continue to be a part of France. The French Directory, on the other hand, (no matter whether properly or not) had determined not to cede it; and this determination they had publicly expressed in the month of March preceding. If England, therefore, with this determination of disannexing Belgium as a *sine qua non*, the propriety of which I am still not discussing, had really set on foot the negotiation, with a view to ascertain whether France still persisted in this unjust and unfounded pretension, as expressed by M. Barthelemi to Mr. Wickham, the business could not have lasted a day. It would of course have begun with a direct reference to the formerly expressed determination in March; it would have contained a candid, and, in my opinion,



an easy refutation of its principles, and would have demanded an answer. This simple course would have brought the matter to an instantaneous conclusion. But, instead of this direct and obvious procedure, what do the papers which have been laid on the table of the House of Commons really contain? what have been the proceedings of this embassy, which seasonably occupied so many weeks, amusing the English public while the loan was transacting?

The whole proceeding is neither more nor less than this—the court of London having resolved upon a *sine qua non*, which they did not at first communicate, and which was in direct opposition to the former public *sine qua non* of France, as expressed in the March preceding, propose mutual compensation as the basis of negotiation. The Executive Directory, being determined not to adopt *that* basis of compensation which should break in upon their former determination, not to cede the territory of the republic, answer, that they cannot accept compensation as a basis, unless they know what it comprehends, and they therefore demand of Lord Malmesbury to state his specific proposition of compensation. This demand the ambassador, in pursuance of his instructions, of course refuses, until the Directory should first admit the basis. After a considerable length of time in this dispute about nothing, the French Directory, who never meant, nor in common sense could mean, that mutual compensation (*the basis of every possible peace*) should not be the basis of the proposed one, but who

were

were only determined not to accept *that* basis of compensation which comprehended the Netherlands, at last consent to remove this ridiculous stumbling-block, and, by M. Delacroix's letter to Lord Malmesbury the 27th of November, they hold this language to him, which accordingly removed it.

“ Our answer, of the 5th and 22d of last Brumaire, contained an acknowledgement of the principle of compensation, by asking you to state what it comprehended. But to avoid all farther pretext of discussion on the subject, the Executive Directory now makes the positive declaration of such acknowledgement, and Lord Malmesbury is accordingly again invited in the terms of the proposal of 22d Brumaire, to designate without delay and expressly the objects of reciprocal compensation which he has to propose.”

Now if peace, or the *instant* alternative between peace and war, had been the serious object of this embassy, was not a man of the ambassador's high dignity and great capacity to be entrusted with even a single term which constituted the *sine qua non* of his embassy? that single term was not, however, entrusted to Lord Malmesbury; and after the public mind was kept stretched upon the rack of impatience, the ambassador had no answer at all to give upon the subject, but desired to consult his court. The reason of this strange departure from the ordinary and natural course of negotiation, in the hands of a high and accomplished ambassador, all the world is already

aware of. Procrastination was most material, not only from the particular circumstance of the loan, but from the critical state of the war. When the embassy was first projected, we were in the lowest ebb of disgrace and misfortune. We had nothing left to cover our nakedness but what we had torn from the Dutch, for whose protection to went to war; and our last ally, the Emperor, was likely to be even besieged in his capital: but whilst Lord Malmesbury was at Paris, the unexampled spirit and gallantry of the Archduke Charles changed the face of things, and the season became favourable for negotiation to lie upon its oars.

At last, however, the specified demand of compensation, which every body is acquainted with, was transmitted to, and delivered by Lord Malmesbury, in which England demanded restitution to the Emperor, on the footing of the *status ante bellum*. This demand was not expressed in terms as a *sine qua non*, or ultimatum, upon the face of the confidential memorial; but in the collateral discussions with M. Delacroix, it was expressed as a POSITIVE ULTIMATUM *that Belgium should not remain as part of France*. This appears by Lord Malmesbury's letter to Lord Grenville in the following words\*: "*You then persist, said M. Delacroix, in applying this principle to Belgium?*"

\* This letter is very creditable to Lord Malmesbury; it never could be intended for publication, yet it has all the perspicuity, correctness, and elegance, of the most studied performance.

" I an-

" I answered most certainly: and I should not deal fairly  
 " with you if I hesitated to declare in the outset of the  
 " negotiation, THAT ON THIS POINT YOU MUST EN-  
 " TERTAIN NO EXPECTATION THAT HIS MAJESTY  
 " WILL RELAX, OR EVER CONSENT TO SEE BELGIUM  
 " A PART OF FRANCE." And again in the same  
 letter, " *be,*" M. Delacroix, " again asked me,  
 " whether in his report he was to state the disuniting  
 " Belgium as a *sine qua non* from which his Majesty  
 " would not depart; I replied, IT MOST CERTAINLY  
 " WAS A *SINE QUA NON* FROM WHICH HIS MAJESTY  
 " WOULD NOT DEPART." And again in the very  
 next paragraph, " M. Delacroix repeated his concern  
 " at the peremptory way in which I made this assertion;  
 " and asked whether it would admit of no modification;  
 " I replied; if France could in a *contre projet*, point out  
 " a practicable and adequate one, STILL KEEPING IN  
 " VIEW THAT THE NETHERLANDS MUST NOT BE  
 " FRENCH, OR LIKELY AGAIN TO FALL INTO THE  
 " HANDS OF FRANCE, such a proposal might certainly  
 " be taken into consideration.

This *last* expression, which has been considered as  
 opening the negotiation, by the admission of a *contre*  
*projet*, not only re-insists upon the original *sine qua*  
*non*, but even adds another, not expressed before; for  
 Lord Malmesbury adds, that this *contre projet* must  
 not only keep in view, that Belgium should not be  
 French, which he had said before; " but, that it  
 " should not be again likely to fall into the hands of  
 " France."

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This private discussion being finished, M. Delacroix, but without positive instructions, expressed his own apprehension, that this would terminate the negotiation, and transmitted the note and confidential memorial to his government.

The Executive Directory having received them, and having learned undoubtedly from M. Delacroix, by Lord Malmesbury's permission, that the retrocession of Belgium from France, *though not officially expressed in the memorial as an ultimatum*, was nevertheless absolutely insisted on *as such*, they demanded of Lord Malmesbury that he would send his ultimatum *officially in writing*. This demand was expressed in the following words: "*And to require of you to give into me officially, in twenty-four hours, your ultimatum signed by you.*"

This required ultimatum had undoubtedly a pointed reference to Belgium, and cannot be considered as a requisition of an ultimatum upon every collateral point of negotiation. It seems to have been so understood by Lord Malmesbury himself; for his Lordship referring to his official note, and also to his verbal declarations to M. Delacroix, *connecting them properly together*, expresses himself thus: "*He therefore can add nothing to the assurances which he has already given to the minister for foreign affairs, as well by word of mouth as in his official note.*"

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This answer from Lord Malmesbury, which was correct, explicit, and manly, incorporated by inference the *unofficial sine qua non*, delivered verbally to M. Delacroix, with *the official demand of the status ante bellum*, contained in the confidential memorial. The Directory considered it as such, and therefore repeated their former ultimatum on that point, as expressed in the March preceding to Mr. Wickham, viz. “*That they would listen to no proposal contrary to the constitution, to the laws, and to the treaties which bind the Republic.*” This answer being ultimatum against ultimatum, upon a particular point, the negotiation was brought to an inevitable conclusion ; and it is self-evident, that this must have been its fate in one day or in one hour, if Great Britain, aware, with the rest of Europe, of the former determination of France regarding Belgium, and determined to continue to resist that pretension, had asked her *at once* whether she would consent to modify or to abandon it.

When the details of this negotiation came to be considered in the House of Commons, on the 30th of December last, the minister displayed all that dexterity and ability, for which he is so remarkable. His object was to conceal from the House these obvious conclusions which stare one in the face from reading the proceedings, and to incense the Parliament and the nation at the insolent unfounded pretences of France, which defeated, by their unparalleled absurdity and inadmissibility, the earnest anxiety  
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of ministers for peace. He wisely, therefore, and ably, and dexterously, kept in the back ground the thing refused, which formed the obstacle.—He prudently suppressed the details of his own administration, which had given to France both the power and the temper to refuse the demanded cession of Belgium, and brought forward, with the greatest address, the unfounded reasons for the refusal; reasons, which I am the last man to support; which I think are absurd and ridiculous, but which were, in fact, very little to the argument of our situation. Mr. Pitt knew this, and therefore seized upon it as the weak point of his adversary. He made it every thing in his view of considering the termination of the negotiation, and triumphed with the House by a forcible and elequent, but, for the following reasons, a fallacious statement.

The danger of suffering Belgium to remain with France was much sunk in his argument, and the evil mainly insisted upon was her *unfounded reason* for resisting the cession. He not only enlarged upon the injustice of a nation finally annexing a territory acquired during war\*; but appealing to the French

*\* Mr. Pitt appears to have forgotten the annexation of Corsica, by his Majesty's solemn acceptance of its crown; and I will not insult the King, by supposing, that if the fate of war had permitted it, and the Corsicans had claimed our protection as the price of their accepted allegiance, our gracious sovereign would have abandoned them to the possible resentment of their former governors. However, as the crown was accepted without the consent of Parliament, the difficulty might have been got over, and ministers might have denied that Corsica had ever been legally annexed to the British crown.*

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constitution, he denied that it established its annexation. This part of the minister's speech was by far the most laboured, argumentative, and ingenious; insomuch, that I could not help being struck, in the moment, with the force of that characteristic infirmity, which seems to impel him as it were, by a law of his nature, always to act upon one principle under the pretext of another.

If the possession of Belgium by France, from its extent of coast and other local circumstances, be really so dangerous to England in her insular character, or as connected in interest with the political balances of the continent, that it is sound policy to continue the war at all events, in the hopes of compelling its restitution, then the defence of the minister for his *present* conduct would be substantial; but it is plain that his defence in that case would be founded upon the refusal of France to give up Belgium, and not upon the reasons for which she refused it:

To try the force of this reasoning, let me suppose she had been willing to cede Belgium, and every territory of any consequence demanded of her, with the exception of some insignificant fort or town, which she had refused upon the footing of annexation during the war, under her constitution. Let me further suppose (which is necessary for bringing the touchstone to the argument), that it was admitted the thing refused was of no consequence or value to Great Britain. In such a case, is any man prepared to

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contend, that we ought to continue the war, *not for the cession of additional territory*, but to beat the French out of an unfounded reason for refusing what we did not want? Having been at war so long to destroy her whole constitution, and having at last abandoned its destruction, were we now to continue it only to batter this chip from off a corner of it? Or, admitting the constitution of France to be a rule for France, were we to spend a hundred millions more to prove that she did not understand her own constitution, and that Mr. Pitt was the only able commentator upon the text of it? To do Mr. Pitt justice, notwithstanding his public pretences, he does not seriously entertain such an absurdity. The putting forward the reason of refusal which is unfounded and fallacious, and keeping back the view of the real question, the value of the thing refused, and the chance of retrieving it by continuing the war, was only the parade and juggle of the day. It was to hide from the House and the Country, **THAT WE WERE ACTUALLY TO BE AT WAR FOR BELGIUM.**

To put this plain truth beyond the reach of controversy, let me suppose (to expose our state quackery) that France were to abandon the ground of political annexation altogether, and to assert, as she has to her own people, her possession of the Netherlands upon the principle of safety against future aggression from the northern powers of Europe—should we, in that event, be nearer to a peace? The best answer to this question is an appeal to the King's first note delivered  
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by Lord Malmesbury, wherein originated the basis of negotiation. The cession of Belgium to the Emperor is there proposed by the King upon the footing, that the sacred obligation of his crown, and the force of treaties, rendered it binding upon his Majesty to demand it,

Upon *this* basis of negotiation it is plain, that the refusal of cession, whatever might have been the reason for it, or a refusal *without a reason*, must equally have terminated the negotiation; because the sacred obligations of his Majesty's crown, and the binding force of treaties, have no relation whatever to the resistance of arrogant pretensions of France against the law of nations, but apply wholly to the duty imposed upon his Majesty to obtain for the Emperor the possession of the Netherlands.

THE WAR IS THEREFORE CONTINUED AT THIS MOMENT IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE SINE QUA NON OF GREAT BRITAIN, WHICH IS BELGIUM, AND NOT AT ALL UPON THE REASON GIVEN WHY THAT SINE QUA NON IS RESISTED; since it is plain, that if the cession of Belgium to the Emperor be our *ultimatum*, the refusal of yielding to that ultimatum must have been an absolute bar to peace, whatever might have been the reason of refusing to accede to it, or though no reason had been given by the party refusing.

THE BRITISH NATION IS THEREFORE AT THE MOMENT AT WAR FOR BELGIUM: since, supposing all

other obstacles could be removed, this territory, upon the footing of the late negotiation, remains an insuperable bar to peace; England insisting to demand, and France to refuse it.

But is the annexation of Belgium, thus artfully put forward, as if it were the grand embarrassment, the only reason given or entertained by France for refusing the demanded cession? We know the contrary. It appears from M. Delacroix's discussion with Lord Malmesbury, that though it could not be ceded by an act of the executive power, and consequently not by the Directory, as the basis of a treaty, yet that it might be done by the convocation of primary assemblies; but France has given other public and official reasons to her own subjects (and which are unquestionably her real ones) why this course is not likely to be taken, and why the cession of Belgium will probably not be admitted.

These reasons involve ministers in that deep responsibility which it has been the object of these pages to make plain to the British nation. France considers the original annexation of Belgium as an act of necessity imposed upon her by the aggression of confederated Europe, and she maintains the possession of it against the future assaults of the same conspiracy.

Until the treaty of Pilnitz had been framed for the destruction of her constitution, and the dismemberment of her empire, she had not extended its limits.

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The hostile system of Europe against France had been resolved on, and the Emperor had actually begun the war, before the Netherlands were invaded. The entreaties of Louis the Sixteenth to the Emperor Joseph to desist from his purposes, and to maintain the tranquillity of Europe, were most earnest and affecting. They bore his name as King of the French; and though they were the public acts of his ministers, yet their sincerity was avowed and insisted on by that most unfortunate prince upon his trial, and shortly before his death. Long after the war was raging in Europe, and when his fate became hourly more critical by the ill-omened protection of despots, the same earnest appeal was made by him to the councils of Great Britain; our mediation with the Emperor was earnestly entreated, and haughtily refused; the continuation of peace, on the renunciation of conquest and aggrandizement, was also humbly offered, and with the same loftiness rejected.

The same offers were renewed on the part of the republic, and were not merely resisted, but repelled with insult, by the sudden dismissal of the ambassador from the kingdom.

Since that period Europe and France have been opposed to each other. If the combined princes could at any time have penetrated through Alsatia, or through the Netherlands, into the territories of the republic, the republic must have fallen. And  
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could they do so to-morrow, France must feel that her independence would be endangered. This situation probably produced the annexation of the Netherlands, and the sense of similar dangers now opposes its retrocession.

These are facts; and they not only expose the misconduct of ministers, but demonstrate, that whilst their system of policy remains in force, there is no hope that France, feeling a sense of security, will relax from demands which a natural anxiety for security has suggested.

I can have no pleasure in adverting to this calamitous prospect. But it is not by concealing the public distemper that its cure can be effected—to heal the wound, it must be probed.—If I am charged (as Mr. Fox lately was in the House of Commons) with suggesting arguments to the enemy, I answer, that they are not my private arguments, but the public arguments of France; that, to pluck them from her mouth, we must by wise councils change the temper that dictates them, and by removing her sense of danger which gives them strength with her people, detach her from the system she pursues. Let us not deceive ourselves—nations and the councils of nations are made up of men; and their operations must invariably be pursued upon human interests and mixed up with human passions. Upon this principle I desire to ask, whether Great Britain, under the direction of her present councils,  
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can expect from France, whom they have so long thrust out from the pale of civil society, the same temper and concession as if the war had been conducted upon the ordinary principles of belligerent nations? It may be *very desirable*, that, upon the first moment of our return to our senses, all these things should be forgotten and overlooked; but is it in the nature of human affairs that this should happen?

Let us assimilate a contest with a nation composed of men, to a quarrel with an individual man, in so rude a state of society as that there should be no certain law to give a rule for both. The analogy is a close one, because nations have no common superior. If, instead of differing with a man upon some intelligible point of controversy, some distinct claim of possession violated, or some personal insult unredressed, and for which I demanded satisfaction, I should proclaim him as a wretch unfit for the exercise of social life, combine all his neighbours to destroy his dwelling, and invite his children and servants to rob and murder him, until insulted nature, summoning up more than ordinary strength, might enable him to resist the conspiracy, to enlarge his boundaries on the side from whence the attacks had been made, and to set his house in order for the return of domestic life:—suppose I should then suddenly affect to see a great change in him, and were to declare that I now found him to be a man capable of neighbourhood, and that if he would restore to his neighbours  
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what he had taken from them I would be at peace with him; whilst human nature is human nature, what answer might I expect? He would say undoubtedly—If I believed you to be sincere, and that you and my neighbours, against whom I have been compelled to take security, were in earnest to keep the peace with me, I might be disposed to listen to your proposition. I told you originally that I had no wish to enlarge my boundaries, and that I only desired to be at peace: but now, if I remove it, what security have I, that, when your bruises are healed, brought on by your own violence, I may not be the victim of a fresh conspiracy when I may be less able to resist it? I must, therefore, keep what you compelled me for my own security to occupy. I have, besides, borrowed money upon the property I was thus entitled to take; the occupants have laid out money on them; they assisted me in my distress; they prevented my utter ruin by your conspiracy; and I have sworn not to desert them. This would be the answer of every man, and of every nation under heaven, when the proud provokers of strife are the baffled proposers of peace.

With regard to the actual danger of suffering Belgium to remain with France, I am not sufficiently master of the subject to be qualified publicly to discuss it. It involves many weighty considerations, and is a fair subject of political difference.

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But I lay in my claim that the consideration of its importance may always be discussed with a reference to the probability of regaining it, and the price at which it must be regained. Let it never be forgotten that by pursuing it through war, though upon the principle of security, we may regain it a price which leaves us nothing to secure; which breaks up our credit, and dissolves our government.

It is remarkable that most of the arguments which are now employed to vindicate the rejection of peace until Belgium can be separated from the French republic, are the considerations of distant and contingent consequences; and these arguments are loud and vehement in the mouths of those very men who scorned all consequences, however immediate, when they were opposed to the system of the war. It has appeared that when they began the contest they refused to look at its most obvious and calamitous consequences, and when warned of them in every stage towards their accomplishment, they rejected them with disdain as vague and visionary speculations. But now, when it becomes convenient to hold up consequences in order to justify the continuation of hostilities begun and prosecuted in utter contempt of them, they themselves enter into speculations the most distant and most doubtful ever resorted to by statesmen. To disappoint the advantages of peace, they look much farther forward into futurity than they were asked

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by their opponents, in order to avert the horrors of war. They estimate, with all the anxiety of interested objection, every sinister consequence of a treaty which would leave France with an extended territory, and augur other dangers to Great Britain upon the most remote and uncertain contingencies. Surely this is the very reverse of that conduct which policy and morality universally dictate. War is in itself so mighty an evil, either politically or morally considered; it entails so many miseries upon mankind, even after the attainment of all its objects, that it ought never to be engaged in until after every effort and speculation have been employed to repel its approach. Peace, on the other hand, is the parent of so many blessings, that all nations ought to run into her embraces with an ardour which no distant or doubtful apprehensions should repel. What then must be the responsibility of the rash and precipitate authors of war, and the uniformly backward negotiators of its termination?

This fatal and obstinate misconduct is hourly producing the most calamitous effects. The difference, though totally diverted from its original principle, has changed to another equally irrational. It began with an object in the nature of things unattainable, and for that very reason has reduced us to a contention for another which cannot be attained. Its authors are so completely bewitched with it, that in their zeal to preserve it they

they seem totally to have forgotten both the old ground on which they first made it, and the new one upon which they continue it. The only principle which has invariably distinguished all the periods of it, has been, that the extended territories of France were less dangerous than the changes wrought by her system in the minds of their inhabitants; that conquest was insignificant when compared with proselytism; and yet for the sake of disannexing Belgium merely as a territory, with a view to sea coast, and to continental balances, they are suffering, whilst I am writing, the whole face of the earth to be rapidly changing under their eyes, by the continuance of war; the authors contenting themselves with railing here at home against republican theorists, who never existed but in their own imaginations, whilst they themselves are the practical founders of republics all over Europe, which existed at first in their own imaginations also, but which they have since substantially realised by their works.

It is truly lamentable that this reflection, instead of being a sarcasm upon government, falls very short of the truth. The war is professedly continued at this moment for another campaign or more, as circumstances may arise; just as if it could be so kept up, upon the mere calculation of expence, to be put down again, like an establishment or an equipage, at the call of convenience or prudence. In the mean time the

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great regular governments of Europe, dissolved from their union, and exhausted by their efforts, are becoming feeble as adversaries, and contemptible to their own subjects, whilst the smaller states of Italy, from which France might have been withdrawn by a cordial and manly negotiation, are now starting up into new conditions of society, under the fascinating banners of glory and victory; and England, instead of dictating a constitution, and boundaries to the French republic, or settling at Paris the imaginary balances of Europe, may be probably soon driven to fight against her upon English ground for her own constitution; whilst the waste and anticipation of her resources nourishes disgust and alienation to its excellent principles, and destroys that enthusiasm which nothing but the practical enjoyment of good government can inspire.

But to speak plainly and boldly my opinion with regard to peace, it is this---That when the relative situations of the two countries are considered, the cession of Belgium to the Emperor, the arrangement concerning St. Domingo, or any other specific line of negotiation, are as dust in the balance when compared with **THE SPIRIT AND TEMPER** of the peace which hereafter shall be made.

Supposing by our great resources, and by the chances of war, we could drive the government of  
France

France to recede from her present pretensions, *not* upon the approach of a new æra of security, confidence, and friendship, but to avoid a political explosion by the destruction of her credit : consider coolly what sort of peace this would be—where the hostile mind remained ;---consider how easily France might again embroil us to the hazard of our finances, and of our constitution which leans absolutely upon public credit for support. The excitation, therefore, which prevails at present to artificial hatred and distrust of France, is a most fatal and ruinous policy for England. No man is less disposed than I am to surrender an atom of the principles of our fathers to French, or to any other principles. I shall, on the contrary, be found at all times amongst the foremost to assert them, because I have been bred, beyond most others, to know their value : but the soundness of our institutions, the attachment which must follow from a pure administration of them, and their mortal connection with the public credit of the state, convince me that our salvation must absolutely depend upon a speedy and LIBERAL peace sought “ *in the spirit of peace, and laid in principles purely “ pacific.*” These last words are the words of Mr. Burke ; they were employed by him whilst, to use his own expression, “ we yet worked in the light,” ---they were employed by him to shew the means by which America might have been brought back to a profitable subjection to Great Britain, which,

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if she had been, all the calamities that have since desolated Europe would have been averted.

The writings of Mr. Burke have had a great and extensive influence in producing and continuing this fatal contest. Let us avail ourselves, then, of the great wisdom of his former writings to lay the foundations of peace.

When an extraordinary person appears in the world, and adds to its lights by superior maxims of policy and wisdom, he cannot afterwards destroy their benefits by any contradictions, real or apparent, in his reasonings or in his conduct. We are not to receive the works of men as revelations, but as the chequered productions of our imperfect natures, from which, by the help of our own reasonings, we are seasonably to separate the good from the evil. This is the true course to be taken with all human authorities. It is a poor triumph to discover that man is not perfect, and an imprudent use of the discovery to reject his wisdom, when the very fault we find with his infirmities is, that they tend to deprive us of its advantages. Differing wholly from Mr. Burke, and lamenting the consequences of his late writings, I always think of the books and of the author in this kind of temper. Indeed when I look into my own mind, and find its best lights and principles fed from that immense magazine of moral and political wisdom, which he has left as an inheritance to mankind for  
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their instruction, I feel myself repelled by an awful and grateful sensibility from petulantly approaching him.\*

I recollect that his late writings cannot deceive me, because his former ones have fortified me against their deceptions. When I look besides at his inveterate consistency even to this hour, when all support from men and things have been withdrawn from him; when I compare him with those who took up his errors only for their own convenience, and for the same convenience laid them down again, he rises to such a deceptive height from the comparison, that with my eyes fixed upon ministers, I view him as if upon an eminence too high to be approached.

The principles upon which Mr. Burke founded the whole system of his conciliation with America, were not narrow and temporary, but permanent and universal. They were not applicable only to a dispute between a mother country and her colonies, but to every possible controversy between equal and independent nations; they were not subject to variation from the tempers and characters of the contending parties, because being

\* If reference is had to the arguments of the author during the state trials. In the trial of Mr. Paine, and upon several other occasions, he will be found to have uniformly pursued this course with regard to Mr. Burke.

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founded in human nature they embraced the whole world of man.

The maxims of pacification which he laid down were plain and simple, but for that very reason were the wiser. Wisdom does not consist in complexity ; the system of the universe is less intricate than a country clock.

The first grand maxim which I before adverted to, and which, in truth, includes all others, was, that peace is not best fought "*through the medium of war, nor to be hunted through the labyrinth of endless negotiation ; but was to be fought in the spirit of peace, and laid in principles purely pacific.*" He inculcated, that crimination and recrimination was not the course by which any human controversy was to be ended ; and, above all he protested against the ruling vice and impolicy of the present administration, who have never had any definable system of peace or warfare, who have always mixed the bitterness of reproach with propositions for conciliation, and have uniformly brandished the sword in one hand with more irritating menace, at the very moment they were holding forth the olive branch in the other.

This we did also in the American war---the repealing acts which we passed to soothe America, were generally carried out in the same ship with new penal bills to coerce them. This induced Mr. Burke in Parliament to express his doubts of  
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their efficacy :—" You send out an angel of peace,  
 " but you send out a destroying angel along with  
 " her, and what will be the effects of the conflict  
 " of these adverse spirits is what I dare not say.  
 " Whether the lenient measures will cause passion  
 " to subside, or the severer increase its fury : all  
 " this is in the hands of Providence ; yet now,  
 " even now, I should confide in the prevailing  
 " virtue and efficacious operation of lenity,  
 " though working in darkness and in chaos. In  
 " the midst of this unnatural and turbid combina-  
 " tion, I should hope it might produce order and  
 " beauty in the end."\*

I have never passed this sentence through my mind, where it has been present for many years, without being deeply affected by it. Its eloquence is only valuable as it makes the moral and political truth sink deeper into the understanding and the heart. The angel of peace dressed in smiles and clothed with her own mild attributes, is not merely described as triumphing in the blue serene, where only ordinary passions are to be opposed to her ; but, as if Mr. Burke had looked forward to his own picture of the French revolution, he trusts to her operation, though working in darkness and in chaos, in the midst of unnatural and turbid combination, and looks forward from her presence to order and beauty in the end.

\* Mr. Burke's Speech in the House of Commons, 29th of April, 1774.



The unalterable effect of this genuine spirit and principle of peace, it is but justice to Mr. Burke to say, he has never fled from. He is in this perfectly consistent with himself; he, of course, does not agree with the plan I am suggesting, because he proposes no peace with France, because he thinks the peace of the world would be sacrificed by its attainment: but if he could once be brought to agree that peace was desirable, I would be contented to stand or fall as he subscribed to what I am proposing. Grant but the premises of his late writings, and all his deductions are full of the same vigour, and lighted up with the same eloquence, which distinguish every thing he has written. It is his false premises only, that leads him astray, and make such havoc in the world. But ministers have no sort of excuse for their conduct; they profess to be sincere in desiring peace, yet they refuse to pursue the only methods by which, between man and man, or between nation and nation, it ever was, or ever can be permanently secured.

I have no more doubt than I entertain of my own existence, that if France saw a change in the British councils, and with that change a consequent renunciation of the system which produced the war, and which, though no longer avowed, notoriously obstructs its termination, the face of things would be entirely altered. The consequences of our misguided councils would no

doubt

doubt load the negotiation, under whatever auspices it might be produced. The strong position which France has obtained, and the necessity to which England has reduced herself from the war, must be expected to be felt in the peace, whenever or by whomsoever it shall be made. But I look less to the terms, which I foresee will raise the difficulties, and which besides, may be smoothed and rounded by the spirit of conciliation, than I look to the future effects which that spirit would produce ; to the solidity of the peace which would be fostered under its wings ; to the return of that good will and the liberal confidence between nations, by which the prosperity of each strikes down fresh roots to the prosperity of all. Depend upon it, where peace is preserved, and its true spirit cultivated, the world is large enough for all the nations which compose it. As they multiply in numbers, and increase in arts and improvements, traffic only becomes more extensive and complicated ; and traffic amongst nations is like traffic amongst individuals, he who has the greatest capital, and the best situation for trade, starts with an advantage which only imprudence can destroy.

This is still the situation of Great Britain. Her immense capital taken with all its mortgages, and her vast possessions in every quarter of the globe, would get the start of all Europe, toss it and tumble it, and divide it as you will so AS PEACE ONLY CAN BE PRESERVED. It is war following

war, and accumulating revenue, their inseparable companions, that alone can destroy, and which has already nearly accomplished the destruction of Great Britain.

There is another superior advantage attending this liberal system of pacification, which, in former times, would have sunk deep into the feelings of Englishmen. The NATION would suffer no humiliation, though *ministers* would be disgraced. Such a peace would be a peace of liberal choice, not, as we look forward to it at present, of baffled necessity. The peace of a free and independent nation, lamenting the errors and sufferings of freedom, holding forth her ample shield to protect it every where, and laying the foundation of a tranquillity, which despotism never more should disturb. Compared with such a proceeding, what is the wresting of the sea-ports of Ostend and Antwerp, from France, in order to restore them to the Emperor, who in the transitions of things, may be the enemy of England to-morrow, whilst France may be her ally.

The ascendancy of France hereafter in the scale of Europe, whatever may be the ultimate terms of general tranquillity, must be always so very powerful, from the fertility and extent of her territory, her immense population, and the active genius of her people, that her relation to England can never be indifferent. She must always be a most desirable

ble ally, or a most formidable enemy. If we were truly friends upon liberal principles, war must for a century be banished from the earth: if we continue at variance, from contemptible prejudices, it must be drowned in blood. When the complicated and clashing interests of two great countries, almost joined together, are contemplated, the various causes of quarrel which interest might sow, which jealousy might quicken, and which false pride must be always ripening into war, humanity shrinks back from consideration of the future. It is not for a very private man, like me, with no talents for a statesman, and engaged besides in the pursuits of a most laborious profession, to comprehend, in my view, the detailed interests of Great Britain as they intersect the interests of France. But this I will say distinctly, that I would not accept the completest knowledge of all of them, nor the highest station to bring them into action, unless I was conscious of possessing, at the same time, the principles and the temper of turning them to the benefit of my country.

Without peace, and peace on a permanent basis, this nation, with all the trade which the world will furnish, cannot support her establishments, and must pass through bankruptcy into the jaws of revolution. All the qualifications of British statesmen for details and management are therefore frivolous and contemptible, when compared with those which fit them for peace-makers and for

for its guardianship when it is made. Cunning and haughtiness are no parts of this character. Peacemakers, to denote their humility and simplicity, are stiled the *children of God*. For their own exaltation, our ministers have sufficiently humbled their country: let them at least take it by turns, and, that their country may now be exalted, let them humble themselves.

That an honourable peace might even now be obtained, if rationally and honestly pursued, every succeeding account establishes and confirms. Proceedings now provoke the indignation of the enlightened part of that nation, which not long ago would have been a signal for enthusiastic approbation. What was formerly a savage festival is now scarcely endured as a political commemoration, and we see her public councils, even in the first transports of their unexampled victories, hailing them as the harbingers of universal tranquillity.

But a peace alone would not secure Great Britain, in the present state of the world, as the war has left it. She must prepare to redeem herself from her burdens, and from the corruptions which occasioned them, by the noblest acts of fortitude and self-denial, and by the most rigid system of œconomy: every expence that is useless or inconvenient must be put down: the resources of the country must be sifted and examined to the bottom, and the revenue upheld by their most judicious application. But no skill in finance, nor

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even integrity in a minister, can accomplish these great objects, without creating in all ranks and classes of the people a deep and warm interest in the supporting additional burdens, and an enthusiasm in the constitution which protects them in their rights.

This state of things is absolutely incompatible with the whole internal system of policy adopted by the present administration. It is in vain to think of even attempting the renovation of our country upon a principle of distrust and terror of the very inhabitants which compose it. The only remedy against mobs is to extend to the multitude the full privileges of a people. To give awful dignity and security to the Commons of England, let every man who has a house over his head have the proud sensation that he is present in it by deputation. The alarm of such a change, even though made by Parliament itself in the benevolence and justice of its dispensations, has always appeared to me very extraordinary. But its reception with enlightened men is wholly unaccountable. The strength and security of government, by the breadth of a popular basis, is confirmed by all experience, and by the universal analogies of things.

When a government emanates from the whole people, when the delegation, which forms the balance to its wisely fixed executive, is sufficiently mutable to prevent an agency from degenerating into a controul, and sufficiently extended to be the organ of universal will, the clubs and societies and conventions which have

have frightened us out of our senses, could not in the nature of things exist. When the people themselves actually chuse the popular branch of the legislature, that forms the controul upon the other parts of it, which are, for the wisest purposes, put out of their own choice by other modifications, and where that choice is made for a very limited season, upon what principle can rebellion exist against such a Parliament, and who, in God's name, are to be the rebels? How can a people be brought to resist a voluntary emanation from themselves? By the operation of what vice or infirmity will they pull down the legislative organ of their own will? Even if such a body should occasionally betray its trust, the remedy is at hand without tumult or revolution; the agency expires by the forms of the constitution, and a better is appointed in its stead. The bad passions of men will, it is true, work up factions in the state; but factions, where there is a broad and general representation, are like waves which rise in the ocean and sink again insensibly into its bosom; it is only when confined and obstructed that they dash into foam, and destroy by the impetuosity of their course.

This was precisely the case in France.—Until there was a just and legitimate representation of the people, controuling the other modifications of a government, no matter how constituted, clubs and knots of men spread terror and confusion, and the people supported them; because they were represented in those clubs and factions, or not represented at all. They

had

had no other security against tyranny than by a general organization of their authority, and the public humours therefore settled into factions. For this state of society there was no possible cure but legitimate power proceeding from the people. When force and violence were attempted, they only inflamed the distemper; but when the cause was removed by a genuine organ of the public choice, the clubs decayed and fell to pieces. Misguided men were no doubt disposed to continue them, but the people *at large*, having then no longer any interest in supporting their authorities, they were every where put down without a struggle: and now, whatever faults or imperfections may be ascribed to the government of France, it is certainly not one of them, that its operations are controuled or menaced by meetings of the people; and if its authority is to be imputed to great power and tyranny, it shews at least that the strength of government has nothing to fear from an extended representation.

This is not the form or fashion of society in a particular nation, or in a singular conjuncture, but it is the universal law which pervades civil life throughout all regions and in all ages; and not civil life only, but the life of all created things, and the existence of the whole material world. It is the free transmission of that, which constitutes substances throughout all the parts which compose them, that alone can preserve them.



The humours of the human body, which occasionally deform its beauty, and impair its strength, are not in themselves diseases, but indications that the body is generally diseased : they are but the poisoned symptoms of imperfect circulation, and the cure must be conducted accordingly. If their dispersion is attempted without touching their causes, they disappear, it is true, from the surface, and the medical, like the political quack, is applauded ; but the true physician discovers only in this apparent restoration the sure prognostic of death. Science, therefore, commences its reformation in the primary seat of vital movements ; it sets free the juices throughout all the capillaries of the body, and without a knife, or an embrocation, the sores insensibly dry up, convert themselves into dust, and the lazar rises from his couch. In the same manner, when the sap which belongs to the entire structure of the vegetable kingdom, is obstructed in its course to the remotest branches of every plant that grows, it is not merely these defrauded branches which perish ; the trunk itself that monopolizes the nourishment of which it only ought to be the conduit, is speedily encrusted with canker, and consumed to its very root. Even the inanimate mass of matter exists by the same rules. It is some universal though hidden union which holds its substances together ; and whenever from any cause it is impeded or destroyed, their surfaces become covered with deleterious incrustations, which, in process of time, will dissolve the hardest of them, until their atoms are scattered to the wind.

The ruling principle of the present moment is most naturally the terror of revolution, and wisdom, therefore, directs our view to its causes; because, without that consideration, we may be running upon danger in our very zeal to escape from it. The causes of revolutions are within reach of every body, if pride would stoop to regard them. Whatever may be the original defects of civil establishments, history affords few examples of violent changes (otherwise than by conquest), except when they grossly degenerate from their principles, whatever they may be. All primitive governments are, to a great degree, founded in social freedom, however defectively it may be secured. A spirit of liberty and equality pervaded even the vassalage of the feudal conquerors of Europe. Undue delegation of power and occasional abuse of it only served to rouse unadulterated man to an early and timely assertion of himself. The former changes in society were, therefore, dignified and merciful. But corruption brutifies and debases; her votaries are stupidly insensible, and, as this contagion must, in the nature of things, stop short of the great mass of the people, the multitude separated from their superiors are of course the indignant reformers; and the lazy, profligate, bloated abusers of rational and useful eminence are knocked on the head like seals whom the tide has left sleeping upon the shore.

This is the clue to the wonders that surround us. Human nature is precisely the same. It is the cor-

ruption of establishments, ten thousand times worse than the rudest dominion of tyranny, which has changed, and is changing, the face of the modern world. The old parliament of France had no resemblance to the modern parliament of Paris when monarchy fell to the ground. The States of Holland, under the immortal Prince of Orange, were lost in every thing but the name when the French crossed the Waal to destroy them, and it was not the freezing of the river that secured the conquest, but because the hearts of the inhabitants were frozen by the abuses of their government. In the same manner the Netherlands passed away from the Emperor. The *joyeuse entrée* of the good Duke of Burgundy had been for centuries nibbled away by monopolies and restrictions before the Belgians even murmured against his authority. This venerable constitution was offered to be restored at last : but the offer was too late, as all offers must necessarily be when they proceed from those who can no longer keep what they are ready from necessity to grant. Such were the concessions of Charles the First to his parliament; of Great Britain to America; and of France, when her notables were assembled. Even the horse knows when his rider strokes his neck from affection or from fear.

The subject proposed is now brought to its conclusion. Deeply impressed with its importance, of which indeed every hour that passes is furnishing some new and awful example, I have given my observations,

servations, defective as they are, openly and without reserve to the public, and I have ventured to subscribe them with my name, at the risk of the many calumnies which they are sure to draw down upon me. My opinions concerning the advantage of a radical reformation in the representation of the House of Commons have been expressed from no disrespect for that high assembly, to which I owe a reverence and a duty, both as a member and a subject, but from a most sincere and equal attachment to all the branches of the constitution. They may long flourish together, if they will always be contented to hold their own places in the system which gave them birth. It can only be from an attempt to change or to enlarge them that a scuffle may ensue, in which all of them may be usurped.

I am perfectly aware that every thing I have written will be ineffectual for the present; the cloud that hangs over us is as yet too thick to be penetrated by a light so feeble. It is much easier to scourge vice than to dissipate error. Indolent indifference, timorous inactivity, and mistaken virtue, are great causes of our present misfortunes; they apply to ten times the number of those who are materially affected by self-interest; and of the three the last is by far the most mischievous; not only because principles of energy are more dangerous than those which incline men to be passive, but because there is something awful and fascinating in virtue, however misguided, and however destructive from its errors. The

truth is, we were suddenly placed by the most extraordinary events in a new situation, both as it regarded our moral feelings as good men, and our prudence as enlightened members of civil life.

The conjuncture I allude to, under any circumstances, would have been a stumbling block to many; coming in critical aid of the desperate projects of ambition and corruption, it became for a season irresistible; it still continues to be dangerously powerful, but it will insensibly wear away. I have had a thousand opportunities of observing its influence amongst those valuable classes of men who take the deepest interest in whatever appears to be connected with the moral order of the world. Propensities so perfectly worthy deserve a greater reward than man can confer on them; but they are apt, without great caution, to lead men beyond the sphere of their duties, as every thing must necessarily be which is wholly beyond the limits of our contracted powers. The extravagance of pious but misdirected zeal may work as much evil as the outrages of impiety. Men become mad from arrogance and presumption, when they presume to decide upon consequences far beyond the reach of human forecast, and they become wicked to a degree, from which nothing but madness ought to ward off punishment, when they support in their own country the grossest abuses, and the most ruinous waste of the resources of future ages, under the pretence of arresting those mighty and never ceasing changes of the world, the consequences of which no mortal strength

strength can subdue, and which are as much beyond our capacities as they are foreign to our concerns.

From such extraordinary conjunctures much better fruits may be gathered by a modest consideration of them, as furnishing the most awful and instructive lessons for our conduct and reformation.

The French revolution, by shewing the irresistible force of popular zeal and fury, may be expected to teach the regular governments of the world to beware how they provoke them by acts of injustice and oppression, or by the gradual sliding of political establishments from the great protective ends of their institutions. It may inculcate the wisdom of moderate and insensible changes, as the mutable and perishable nature of all social establishments may require them; and, above all, it may remind them of a truth quite universal and incontrovertible, but which seems to be too little adverted to, that when men are really happy under their governments, they never push their reasonings upon political *theories* to extravagant conclusions, much less combine to reduce them by force into *practice*, at the hazard of all the horrors and sufferings, which to some extent or other, every revolution must unavoidably produce.

To the governed the lesson may not be the less momentous. It may serve as a warning to the inhabitants of all nations not *suddenly* to push the re-formations of society beyond the pitch of prudence and

and the analogies of experience ; to consider government as a practical thing ; rather to build upon the foundations laid by the united wisdom of social man, improving upon the model by the rising lights of the world, than to assume at once the exercise and practice of their full rights MERELY BECAUSE THE RIGHTS UNQUESTIONABLY BELONG TO THEM, instead of consenting by insensible and peaceable operations to adopt such changes and modifications of popular authority as may answer the full purposes of social security and happiness : but, above all, it may serve, as with the voice and force of thunder, to sink deep into the hearts both of princes and people never to suffer their support of human authority, or their zeal for the correction of its abuses, however desirable or important, to supersede that system of benevolence towards our fellow-creatures, the first and grand precept of our religion, whose observance is the key-stone of human happiness, and whose breach is the source of all the miseries which afflict and agitate the world.

These are the lessons which it may be expected to teach to every nation as considered by itself. For the regulation of separate communities in their concerns with others, future ages will probably, looking back to the distracted councils of Great Britain during this unparalleled crisis, have resort to them as a negative example of prudent government. It will teach particular states to confine their interferences with the affairs of other countries within  
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the bounds which are calculated to secure their own territories and independence. It will cause them to beware how they arrogantly assume to themselves against the first laws of nature, and the obvious plans of Providence in the progressive changes of the world, the right of arresting the awful and majestic course of freedom contending against usurped authority, whatever may be the fury or irregularity of its course. It will also serve to remind the rulers of nations in the neighbourhood of changes arising from abuses of authority, that abuses of authority are the constant forerunners of changes, and the causes by which they are produced.

There is one further and last example to be derived to future ages from the present fortunes of Great Britain, which it rests with the people of England to furnish to the world. By coming forward at this moment with prudence and with order, with a submission which wisdom dictates to every people to their established government, but with a firmness which at the same time reminds that government, that it exists only for their benefit and by their consent, they may yet preserve their country. This majestic and commanding conduct, will demonstrate to future times, and to other nations, that there is no state of adversity which ought to reduce a great people to despair; that national adversity cannot even exist for any long season, but from wicked misgovernment, and shameful submission to it; and that the

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advantage



advantage of our free constitution (well worthy of all the blood that has been shed for it ; and which may yet be shed to preserve it) is, that it possesses within itself the means of its own reformation ; insuring to its subjects an exemption from revolution, the worst of all possible evils, except that confirmed establishment of tyranny and oppression for which there is no other cure.

THE END.

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**FITZ-ALBION'S LETTERS**

TO

**THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT,**

AND

**THE RIGHT HON. HENRY ADDINGTON,**

ON THE

**SUBJECT OF THE MINISTERIAL PAMPHLET**

ENTITLED

***CURSORY REMARKS***

**ON THE STATE OF PARTIES,**

BY A

***NEAR OBSERVER:***

FIRST PUBLISHED IN

**THE TRUE BRITON,**

AND NOW RE-PUBLISHED, REVISED, AND CORRECTED,

WITH THE ADDITION OF NOTES, &c.

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**"Le jour d'un nouveau regne est le jour des ingrats."**

Εἰ μὲν δὴ ἑταρόν γε κείν' ἐτέ μ' αὐτὸν εἰσεῖναι,  
Πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θεῖοιο λαβοίμην,  
Οὐ πέρι μὲν πρὸ φρον κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγῆνωε  
Ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι.

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**LONDON:**

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**1803.**

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE Letters which occupy the following Sheets, have already received so large a share of the Public attention and approbation, that it can hardly be necessary to assign a motive, or offer an apology, for their re-publication in their present form. It seems an act of justice to the Writer to rescue them from the common fate of Newspaper lucubrations, which exist but for a day, and to put them into that embodied shape, which should at once place them connectedly before the Public eye, thereby ensuring to them a more permanent character. But I was induced to take this step from stronger motives than those of compliment to the Writer of the Letters, to whom, though personally unknown to me, I must ever feel myself under great obligations. I take it from the ardent desire with which my bosom is in-  
flamed

flamed of serving, however humbly, a Cause, in which my heart is deeply interested, and in which I consider the National Honour as materially involved. The character of their greatest Statesman, of the Man, by the powers of whose mind, and the providential intervention of whose political sagacity, their Country was saved from the vortex of Revolution, and placed beyond the reach of all misfortune, but such as they themselves are accessory in producing, can never be indifferent to the People of Great Britain. (As it is with equal strength and justice enforced by FITZ-ALBION); they have an interest in the preservation of that Character from the assaults of Envy, Malignity, or Ingratitude; and this feeling must, I think, ensure, at least, a candid reception, to the efforts of those who stand forward in its defence.

The rage and rancour of Party, in their utmost virulence, the illustrious Statesman in question had successfully withstood for nearly eighteen years. In the energies of his own mind, and the approbation of his own conscience, he found ample means to repel and overwhelm them, and he retired  
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from official situation with the deepest regret, and warmest gratitude of the Nation; even his enemies being forced to pay reluctant homage to his talents and to his virtue. His conduct as a private Senator, and a Man, were such as to divide, with the grateful impression of his public services, the National Applause. His voice, the organ of the purest Patriotism, and the most enlightened Wisdom, was never heard within those walls, where it had been for so many years listened to with conviction and delight, but for the public good; and the Nation continued to look up with expectation and interest to that mind, so qualified by Nature to govern, even without the extraneous aids of Official Authority or Political Power. Against such a man it seemed almost impossible that a hostile shaft should be pointed; and it surely must, to common observers, have appeared wholly so, that it should be prepared by those who had by him been nourished into existence, and who owed to his fostering protection, all that they could claim of Public consideration or respect. It is one, in my humble opinion, not of  
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the lightest misfortunes of the present day, that we should have to witness an instance of private ingratitude and public profligacy, almost unexampled in the worst periods of our history. Against the impression which such an event is calculated to produce, the magnanimity of Mr. PITT may sufficiently arm him ; and, while he views it only as an additional illustration of the depravity of Human Nature, he may dismiss the puny Actors in this disgusting drama from his consideration with indifference and contempt. Common minds, however, find it more difficult to bridle the feelings of indignation and to repress their resentment. If the CURSORY REMARKS of the NEAR OBSERVER (a hand peculiarly fitted to open the sluices of calumny and ingratitude) have gone unanswered by a thousand pens, it cannot have been from want of indignant feeling being kindled in ten thousand bosoms. Among those whose ardent resentment may have prompted them to snatch up the pen upon this occasion, I think I may confidently assert, that FITZ-ALBION will not be considered as the least worthy of the cause which he espouses. It  
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is not for me, however, to pronounce his Panegyric. He has already been rewarded with public approbation, and I flatter myself it will be found that the present Edition of his Letters will entitle him to a more enlarged share of general notice and applause.

If it should be asked by any Friend of the present Administration—(but it seems hardly possible that such an interrogatory should be put to any man)—if it should be asked, why those who once supported Mr. ADDINGTON as Minister, now so loudly condemn him, I derive my answer from the conduct of that Minister himself. Those who knew him, never expected brilliancy of Political Character, but they gave him ample credit for good sense, good intentions, and integrity of heart. Nobody expected from him a display of the higher powers of the mind ; but the man who had gained the appellation of the *respectable* Mr. ADDINGTON, as Speaker of the House of Commons, it was supposed might remain in some measure, at least, respectable as a Minister. I am an humble unit among the millions who, from conviction, are induced to change the epithet ; and, I

profess



profess myself one, who, from being a disinterested, however humble supporter of Mr. ADDINGTON's Administration (and, in his own opinion, at one time not a very inconsiderable one), am forced to think that every day of its duration, in this crisis of difficulty, is a curse upon the land. Reasons for such a change of opinion are here quite unnecessary—they are to be found in every act of his Government, and are very ably urged in the Letters of FITZ-ALBION. But, however my opinion may be changed, those of whom I am speaking shall find, that my principles are the same. Political feeling shall never impel me into a breach of private confidence. Though I may accumulate upon my head the most unbounded share of obloquy from Ministerial Adherents, I will force them to respect me—I shall be understood by certain persons, and that is here my only aim.—Though no apology may be necessary for the re-publication of FITZ-ALBION's Letters, I feel one to be due to the Public for this allusion to a person so inconsiderable as myself.

THE EDITOR.

*London, Nov. 25, 1803.*

THE  
LETTERS  
OF  
*FITZ-ALBION.*

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LETTER I.

*To the Right Hon. William Pitt, &c. &c. &c.*

SIR,

*August 31, 1803.*

**T**HAT a Ministerial Manifesto should have been, at such a season as the present, issued from the Treasury—that the petty and narrow feelings of Party should have so far operated upon men who have uniformly deprecated every species of opposition, and who withal are entrusted with the conduct of public affairs at this alarming crisis, as to induce them to break in upon that unanimity which has so providentially proved our resource in the absence of talent and ability; is to be accounted for upon no acknowledged principle of prudence, honour, decency, or common policy. At any season, in a period of the most profound

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profound peace and national prosperity, such a publication (official upon the face of it, even if the Author were not known), must be considered as gross and offensive ; but at this moment, what palliation, what motive can be offered in extenuation of the breach of private confidence ? the open exposure of state transactions ? the garbled truths, and ungrounded falsehoods which defile every page, and close almost every period of this Paper ? The common feelings of Gentlemen—the high honour essential to the character of men who hold such responsible situations under the Crown (as those from whose midnight, dark, and secret *orgies* is sprung this dæmon of discord), are sullied and scandalized, and the Crown itself assailed, by so unprecedented and undignified a measure. Are the present Ministers, who have been incessantly preaching up the necessity of common feeling and a common cause—the union of heart and hand—who have uniformly stigmatized those who opposed the slightest tittle of their public conduct—are these the men to blazon forth, under the sanction of an extra-official authority, a rissue of calumny and falsehood, of perversion and mis-statement ?—a catalogue of charges wilfully and notoriously fabricated for the basest of all purposes, against the most upright characters in the empire, to throw dust into the eyes of the people, and impose upon the feelings of the multitude ? Are they, weak as they are acknowledged

knowledged to be by their best friends and advocates, still so weak as to suppose that such detestable policy will not fall back with redoubled weight upon their own heads, and that the wound inflicted by the recoil of the weapon they have thus barbed and envenomed, will not canker and turn to corruption? Impossible! and yet beholding the confidence with which the gauntlet is thrown down—the clapping of their wings in token of self-approval and conscious prowess, and their chanticleering note of victory from their elevated sanctuary, one might be led to imagine that they intended to strike a deadly panic through the whole body politic. They tell us that we must not condemn them, even if we have serious cause of impeachment; and this, because “*Unanimity alone can preserve the Empire!*”—an unanimity which they have never, by any one measure, tended to establish, and which, in the present instance, they have taken the most unequivocal mode of infracting.—But to prove to us that we have not even the virtue of that conditional *If*, their words are pledged for their own most upright and admirable conduct, and they tell us, that they are “*faithful, able, vigorous, and fortunate.*”—That they are the first, their treatment of their early Patron and best friend is ample proof.—The leading-strings to which, in spite of themselves, they were obliged for a time to submit in the same quarter, is no bad illustration of

their second quality.—The third may be construed from their diplomatic correspondence with BONAPARTE, prior to their order to Lord WHITWORTH to return home with a *bop, step, and jump!* and as the fourth is certainly as yet unaccomplished, I leave them to enjoy the prospect of its fulfilment, if the loss of Hanover, and the dreadful state of Ireland, be considered as the basis of it; while, for my own part, I shall think them entitled to the epithet in its fullest extent, if, after all the evils for which they will ultimately have to render account, they escape in safety, or are permitted to retire to that obscurity which appears to be congenial with their habits and pursuits.

The total absence of candour from the statement of the few real facts which this *Party-Precis Writer* brings forward—the subtlety and contrivance by which he endeavours to conceal the deformity and weakness of those over whom he would place his brazen *Ægis*—the decided untruths, the scurrilous attacks, and the truly unmeaning and unintelligible self-panegyrics which pervade this farrago, seem to bid defiance to a regular analysis, and consequently to a regular refutation. His inconsistent and contradictory assertions, false data, and inconsequent conclusions, will carry their own antidote along with them. I shall merely select some of the most prominent features, and endeavour to strip off the mask which has been assumed for the purpose  
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of screening their deformity. I do not wish you, Sir, to poise your ponderous lance, yet I would have you lift your arm : this will be sufficient to restore these infatuated people to their senses ; and I really consider it seriously incumbent on you to undeceive them, and to convince them that the inflated sense of their own importance, which they have of late so openly displayed, has no foundation, no basis, but in the forbearance of those who disapprove their conduct, and watch over to correct it, in preference to agitating the public mind in the hour of public difficulty, and to the peculiar delicacy of the times, which leads the Country to dispense with the talent and ability necessary to meet the crisis as it should have been met, in order to display to the enemy an unanimous sentiment of disgust and resentment against his aggression and threats. That such men as preside in the various departments of the State at this period, should dare to place themselves in the gap over against the Son of CHATHAM, and enter into a defiance against talents and resources of mind which they know not even to appreciate, is too ridiculous a caricature for their best supporters to contemplate without a smile, and too palpable an absurdity for their real friends not to lament as the precursor of their downfall. How are we to regard the conduct of men who, for a time, courting popularity by every artifice they can devise—coquet with one party,

party, affect candour towards another, and submit with becoming modesty to the suggestions of all ; but who, at once, veering short round, plant themselves in hostile array against every party, except their new proselytes—abuse and call names with all the volubility of Parisian demagogues, and in a style so nearly allied to the revolutionary jargon of modern France, that one might almost be persuaded to think a spark had elicited from the Gallic conflagration, and that the Constituted Authorities had sprung up from the *middle ranks* of the people by acclamation.

I must, *in limine*, avow my abhorrence of these *middling politics, middling measures, and middling men*. Can such *middling Statesmen* be really so full fraught with self-opinion, as to assume any credit for the spirit and patriotism which have displayed themselves among all ranks in the Country ? I do aver, that every measure, every speech that has been uttered from the Treasury Bench, has tended to discourage and mislead the people. Truth was banished, and manly preparation deprecated—the galleries were cleared when patriot virtue was to be heard, and the Swinish Multitude were to be regaled with half measures and half truths—the Sophist, and not the Statesman, was to feel the pulse and prescribe for the *nervous system* of the people—one day Negotiation, the next War—one week all Confidence, the next all Despon-

Despondency \*. Was this a conduct likely to produce an effect upon the minds of a great People ?

\* On the 23d of June last, Ministers were most indignant at the disheartening language of several Gentlemen who opposed their *middling* measures, and suggested the propriety of taking precautions lest the Enemy, having made good his landing, should march to the Capital. " The Right Honourable Gentleman (observed Mr. ADDINGTON, with a tone and gesture truly magisterial), has stated as a *possible case* the Enemy's arrival in London, in spite of our fleets and our armies. If I wished to plunge the Nation in despair, I solemnly protest I could not do it more effectually than by making use of these precise words." In the month of July, within twenty-eight days of this ebullition of confidence, an official note appears to have been written by Lord CATHCART to the Marquis of TITCHFIELD, in which Government not only supposes the advance of the Enemy to the Capital *a possible case*, but issues orders to fortify London ; for that, if there were no precautions taken, apprehensions for its security might be entertained. " I do solemnly protest (says Mr. ADDINGTON), that if I wished to plunge the Nation in despair, I could not do it more effectually than by making use of these precise words." The mind of the Minister, no doubt, was open to conviction ; and though he would not have ventured to touch upon these talismanic words, he felt no hesitation in publicly avowing his intention to act upon them. But even after making the avowal, and plunging the Nation into despair, in the most effectual mode he could devise, little has been done, although it is four months since the Letter was written, unless it be, that if we can decoy the Enemy into Essex, preparations are made to drown as many as will venture into the traps we have laid for them. " Consistency," said a great man once, " is the Statesman's sheet-anchor."

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Did this new schooled Administration really calculate upon the spirit which has manifested itself? and if they did, had they the presumption to derive it from their own exertions\*? Did they suppose that the people of this Country were like the inmates of a nursery, and were to be roused or silenced as they cried Wolf or Bugaboo? No, sir, I cannot think so meanly of them. They have once (some of them at least) sat in council with you, and the very temporary contact must have communicated a spark of self-knowledge by comparison, sufficient to open their eyes to the inadequacy of the means they have employed to produce the great effect which we all enjoy at this moment in the unanimous spirit of the Country. I do verily believe, that more has been done by the halfpenny ballad-singers, Grub-street poets, and the bill-stickers of the metropolis, than

\* Ministers virtually admit their inability to have given birth to such a sensation in the public mind, when they declare that the Legislature cannot create a public spirit; and charge those with profound ignorance, who think the Ministers could have brought in the Bill (the Defence Bill) till the People called for it (page 81);—yet they are as willing, (at least as their predecessors, who, we are told, would have every thing *their* act and *their* measure), to attach to their conduct ample credit for even obeying the commands, and waiting the orders of others; for they tell us (*mirabile dictu!*) that *they* have carried the greatest measures of which there is either record or tradition in the History of the Empire! Pages 80, 81.

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by the united efforts of the Treasury orators, and their coalesced band of pensioned patriots. To your statement, Sir, of the Country's predicament, of her resources, of her deficiencies, of her dangers, and the means she possessed of meeting them—of the rancour, animosity, and power of the Enemy who threatened her, and of the necessity of lighting up the flame of public spirit to resist and overcome that Enemy : to this appeal to the senses as well as to the judgment of the community, and to the feelings and nobler passions of the multitude, do I trace that spirit which hath swelled every breast and nerved every arm in defence of the Country—and of every thing dear to man in civilized life. The People did the rest—but even now that the great and desired point is gained, these Gentlemen who seem to think no measure of so great importance as the security of their own seats, are cutting and lashing in all directions, and fighting even the shadow of Opposition, lest their course should be impeded, whilst they are carelessly throwing away the advantage they had no share in obtaining, and repelling even to disgust the manly offers of the Volunteers who stand forward the defenders of their Country's rights, which they cannot so confidently trust to their Country's councils.

The public might still forbear—might still be induced to acquiesce for a time in this unsystematic series of imbecile and aguish conduct ; but when they hear the character of the man who

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has more than once saved the Empire, so shamelessly traduced—a character upon which she looks with jealousy, as coupled with her own, she demands the sacrifice of those, and the exposure of their deformity, who have dared to cast a stain upon unspotted honour and unsullied patriotism.—That which your open and avowed enemies have never dared, your friends whom you have raised from the dust, and whom you have armed with weapons now turned against your own breast, have not hesitated to do. The former, however they might differ as to their political application, ever bestowed their unqualified admiration upon your steady integrity, disinterestedness, and most profound abilities. *These* have sought and availed themselves of all you would bestow upon them as a counsellor and a friend, and now would hold you out to the world as a mere presumer—a *vox et præterea nihil*, whose declamation has raised a name unsupported by any of the requisites of a politician—who, now that the people have experienced *so auspicious a change in the Administration*, may talk to the winds; for the Public, in plain English they tell you, pay no attention *now* to this *mere* gift of eloquence, when it is opposed to *judgment, knowledge, firmness, and equanimity*. Two parties only, Sir, have ever displayed virulence and rancour in their opposition to you, and both have resorted to the same policy, of endeavouring to sap the foundation of a character, which their open attacks would only tend

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to strengthen. *The Court of St. Cloud, and the Treasury Bench at St. Stephen's!* Both have their particular points to carry—both are equally anxious that you should be excluded for ever from the councils of your Country—both look to the inauspicious event of your return to power as the signal of overthrow to theirs, and thus sympathizing in the same end, they appear neither of them to have been very scrupulous as to the means of attaining it.

You are told under the sanction and seal of your successor in office, that you at one time *openly supported him*;—perhaps you would feel inclined to think he thanked you for it—No such thing! You supported him, he tells you, *openly, and perhaps officiously*. Fie on't; 'tis offensive! The great name of PITT must not, shall not be aspersed by a mongrel Administration (even though my untried arm should wield the adverse shaft)—an Administration which, like a public caravansera, is open to all principles, to all sects, and to all talents; to renegade Tories, pensioned Demagogues, and reformed Whigs.

I have the honour to be, with admiration and respect for the first and most exalted talents that ever graced human nature, and with the highest gratitude for their regular and indefatigable application to the interests of my Country,

Sir, yours,

FITZ-ALBION.

## LETTER II.

*To the Right Hon. William Pitt, &c. &c. &c.*

SIR,

Sept. 6, 1803.

CONTEMPT may penetrate a feeling mind, but chastisement will be more effectual with a plodder.—Shame may reform a young sinner, and generosity convert, where the seeds of error are only sown; but with those whose apostacy is system, and who by overt-acts have unblushingly confirmed the evil propensities of their nature, no refinement in the mode of treating them will be understood—no sentence can be efficient that does not inflict a penalty suited to the character and proportioned to the extent of the crime.—

Will men who have trampled the most sacred ties under foot, who have dared to ransack the bureau of the State to garble its secret deposits in order to traduce high character, because jealous of its influence; who have had the depraved temerity to trifle with diplomatic authority and the sacredness of official confidence, to give weight to their asperity against a patron and benefactor—Will such men, Sir, comprehend the workings of a mind which shrinks from the rude attack made upon it, not from the effects of fear, or apprehension,

hension, but from the silent feeling of contempt? Will they be able to appreciate the sense which disdains to repel the shafts of malignity, even when directed against itself?—Rather, will not they who have had the puerile vanity to misconstrue public silence into public approbation; profit by the forbearance of scorn, and claim the honours of a triumph?—Let loose the reprobate who steals your purse, and he imputes your mercy to timidity. Ask the pardoned traitor to what he owes the extension of clemency, and he will tell you, the fear of popular clamour!

To sit seriously down, to dispel calumny which carries its own refutation in its tail, and to vindicate character which has never been aspersed or blackened, but by those who draw upon their imagination, and colour from their own hearts, may, I confess, on a superficial view of the subject, appear an act of supererogation; but to omit it upon a full, fair, and dispassionate investigation, would be an act of ungracious negligence. I have before had occasion to refer to the officiality of this *Ministerial Moniteur*—from that, and that alone, does it derive the smallest degree of importance. The public cannot yet be brought to consider the Treasury of the State as the channel of falsehood, nor the office of its functionaries as the emporium of scandal and defamation. That nothing might be wanting to render the Paper characteristic, and the undoubted production of the

the Family Band, the compounder of this farra-  
ginous mixtion has taken peculiar care to commit  
himself *in limine*, before he has fairly entered upon  
the subject of his Remarks, in the very Dedi-  
cation to the seeming *God of his Idolatry*. A pro-  
fession of candour and impartiality, and an im-  
plied ignorance of the Right Hon. Gentleman (an  
apt plea, though not a very flattering one on such  
an occasion) ushers in a pompous panegyric upon  
virtues such as every tomb-stone, in every coun-  
try church, bearing record to posterity of *depart-  
ed* worth, exhibits from the chisel of the mason,  
and the fancy of the sexton, but which have no  
more to do with a Prime Minister in his official  
situation, than the enumeration of the women in  
the Haram of the Grand Signor, with the opera-  
tions of Paswan Oglow against the Porte. In  
conclusion, he declares the *impossibility* of being  
the friend of the Minister and his flatterer at the  
same time. I am ready to concede this to him ;  
but by one of those strange blunders which take  
the character rather of infatuation, he seems en-  
tirely to have lost all idea that a reader may not  
forget at the end of the book what he has read at  
the beginning ; and I do maintain, that it would  
be impossible to discover any one passage that re-  
flects in the slightest degree upon the character or  
conduct of Mr. ADDINGTON, or rather, any one  
page that does not overwhelm him with unquali-  
fied adulation or implied eulogy, from the begin-  
ning

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ning to the end. On one point, indeed, he presumes to differ from his Right Honourable Employer, but this is merely to keep like an honest man, his word which he pledged at starting; and *literally* he has kept it, though, like the penultimate scene of a pantomime, which is darkened in order to give double effect to the succeeding blaze of grandeur, he, after having *very roundly* taken to task the Minister for his weakness (avowedly the only one a *Near Observer* could discover in his character) in having, Sir, retained some small share of respect for your opinions, at once changes the scene, proves the weakness amiable, and makes his very censure the medium of approval. I notice this circumstance as a criterion whereby to estimate the *quantum* of credit due to profession and assertion which abound in the little volume before us. His claim to fair statement and ungarbled evidence, is at least as admissible as his pretensions to candour and impartiality. There is little to notice or to select from the crude heap of exaggerated accounts and suppressed counterparts which occupy the early pages of the Manifesto. The regret which the People expressed upon the resignation of yourself, Sir, and your Colleagues, in 1801, is finely worked up into a phrenzy of popular and general indignation! How far this Gentleman and *the Firm*, can reconcile such an attack with their respect due in the quarter where they *must know* the



the measure to have originated, I am not sufficiently a Casuist to determine, but as far as *plain sailing matter of fact* will bear me out, I have no objection to admit, that a spirit of disgust and indignation did arise very shortly after that event : it was, however, the substitution of imbecility for vigour, and the supplanting energy for the introduction of a bastard policy, that excited the fears and called forth this expression of the Country's feelings. These have never wholly subsided, though the murmur has been deep and low. *There were reasons* which would have withheld the open expression of popular contempt and disapprobation for some time longer, had not the breach thus made by elated self-importance, brought on a premature disclosure of principles which make every honest Englishman glow with indignation, whilst he trembles for the blow his character has sustained, and the dangers to which he is at present subjected.

The critical posture of public affairs at the period of your retirement, Sir, from office, upon which this Editor appears *to love to dwell* (though, like a tenacious preserver of game, he warns others off certain *delicate* points, which, in the true spirit of manorial right, he most *indelicate*ly reserves for his own sport), would, had it been possible to introduce it in an antithetical point of view, no doubt have proved highly advantageous to the cause of the present Ministers—could he  
have

have blazoned forth such a glorious contrast as the late Minister effected so short a time after being called to the helm in 1782, it would have been a master-stroke of policy to paint the situation of the Country upon the arrival of Mr. ADDINGTON at his post, in the most livid colours of despair ; to persuade the people that they were at the last gasp, and that nothing short of a total change of system, and a *New Doctor*, could possibly have restored their shattered constitution. But how, as the fact exactly stands, will he meet the admission on our part, that the State was placed in a predicament of some danger and greater difficulty, nay, if we accede to his extreme statement, and the exaggerated account which he has wrought up his fancy to describe, are we so completely out of the wood as to talk of difficulty, of danger, of a crisis as characteristics of other times. Do we wear at this moment such an unruffled smiling face of prosperity, as to form the highly-coloured, rich and brilliant picture the Treasury Editor would impose upon us ? Has a succession of empirical experiments rallied the sickened patient, and has he been so restored by evacuations, as to present to our imagination a rapturous contemplation of the present state of things, and to bid all former practitioners upon our Constitution hide their diminished heads ? It would require more than Consular effrontery to answer in the affirmative. Instead of the regular practice of the

College, we are treated with the *Charlatanerie* of a Quack—for the *Pharmacopæia Londinensis* is substituted the wonder-working pill of Dr. *Brodum*\*, the panacea for all ills, and sovereign balm for all diseases. We are, as it were, under a village-doctress—an old woman, who, changing her remedy with the hour, applies every thing her shelf affords, without waiting the effect of any. From such a succession of diuretics, purgatives, sudorifics, alteratives, stimulants, and narcotics, and their counteracting influence, the fate of the patient may, without the aid of second sight, be pretty fairly anticipated.

“ Alack ! when once our grace we have forgot,

“ Nothing goes right—we wou’d and we wou’d not.”

I shall defer to my next, a consideration of the Comparative View of the Country, and how you left the Government, and its present state. In the meantime, I have the Honour to be,

Sir, yours,

FITZ-ALBION.

\* The Papers have just announced to the Public the retirement of this Great Man from business with a splendid fortune.—Wou’d to heaven the hint might be of service to *other Great Men* of the same irregular practice.—The condition attached to retirement would be acceded to without a murmur by their Patients, *should they have been remiss on that point themselves.*

LETTER

## LETTER III.

*To the Right Hon. Henry Addington, &c. &c. &c.*

SIR,

Sept. 13, 1803.

YOU will, perhaps, be surprized at receiving a Letter with my signature ; but there are many and obvious reasons why I should, on the present occasion, address myself to you rather than to your illustrious Predecessor in office. It is my intention to consider the general bent and purpose of the Libel which has been circulated by your Clerks and Secretaries, with an activity that would bespeak them more fitted for their employments, than a thorough acquaintance with their merits, will warrant us in admitting. I shall endeavour to take a summary view of its leading principles, and to ascertain how far the means employed have advanced the proposed end ; whether, in weighing the merits of the present and late Administration, the preponderance appears to be in the scale of the latter, or whether an over-confidence on the part of the Editor has not made him lose his balance, and, according to a beautiful figure of his own, leave the sides of his Employer naked in the conflict. I shall commence operations by a contrast to that Gentle-

man's view of public affairs, not drawn by myself, but extracted from a Letter addressed to you, Sir, as it is said, by a young Irish Nobleman :—  
 “ With regard to the general state of the Empire, you came into power at a moment peculiarly calculated for your own fame, to encircle your own brow with laurels, and to raise and uphold the English Name and Nation ; an alarming quarrel in the North decided and adjusted with a high and cavalier hand, in such a manner as would have done honour to Britain in her proudest day. But, Sir, it has been reserved for you, notwithstanding the glory which the Nation acquired in Egypt, a glory that might eclipse the far-famed achievements of our RICHARDS, our HENRYs and our EDWARDS—with an Exchequer not exhausted, the spirit of the Nation undaunted and unsubdued—with an Army arrayed, disciplined, and experienced, such as we have never had since the days of MARLBOROUGH—with a Fleet bearding the Enemy in all their ports ;—it was reserved for you, under these circumstances, to seal your own infamy, by compromising not the Honour only, not the Character only of the Nation, but by endangering its safety, to a degree that will require the united exertions of all the talents, and of all the physical force, combined, to render it problematical, even then, whether it shall survive !”

I am of opinion, Sir, that the majority of the  
 People

People of Great Britain will concur in this representation of the state of the Country on the retirement of the late Ministry, rather than in that chaos of misery, misfortune, and complicated evil, which your Champion has painted in all the sombre tints of a distempered imagination. The Writer from whom I have selected the foregoing observations, certainly appears to have no predilection for Mr. PITT; on that account, I should imagine his opinions, on this subject at least, may be considered as unbiassed, and will, I suspect, have the greater weight with you.

Now supposing, merely for the sake of argument, without an intention of separating men from measures; it should please HIS MAJESTY to accord to the anxious wishes of a loyal and attached People, to accept at this moment the resignation of yourself and your colleagues, the first parallel that would present itself to the mind of a man wishing to compare the two Administrations, would very naturally be the opposed state of the Country at the period of the dissolution of each. Let us then calculate how the account will stand on your side, contrasted even with the dark and murky clouds of impending ruin which hung over the horizon, and beyond which the short-sighted Observer could not discern a ray of hope—a cloud, behind which, nevertheless, though it seemed set for ever, the Sun of Peace awaited your commands. The extreme

treme of poetic fancy had as yet been content that heroic gallantry should "pluck bright Honour from the pale-faced moon;" but you, Sir, from this setting Sun have, in the opinion of your Eulogist, new-lighted up the world from the orb of day, and rescued mankind from the fearful and ruinous effects of our modern PHAETON, from whose hands you timely snatched the reins.— You, Sir, thought so great a good could not be purchased at too high a price. When a man goes to market with his pockets full, and his mind made up, there can be little doubt of his carrying his purchase. Satisfied with your bargain, and "confident of having deserved well" yourself, you never took the pains to inquire how far the other contracting party was fulfilling his engagements, so occupied were you in discharging your own: nay, so fearfully apprehensive were you of favouring even an appearance of dissatisfaction or doubt, that you discharged the very watchmen and removed the sentries, whom the common principle of self-defence had usually placed over the reserved articles. You may say, perhaps, that what was left was not worth the pains of keeping: you will not, however, admit this, I hope, for your own sake. It is quite enough to have tucked us up warm in bed, buried our arms, and cried to us, "Sleep in peace!" to have sung lullabies to us just when you were about to rouse us—to drag us from  
our

our rest in the middle of the night ; and when we would have you explain, to laugh at us for a set of ninnies and drivellers (as we most surely were) for believing what you told us. In plain English, having disarmed the Country, and left her in a state of nakedness, we are now told officially, by the Editor of your Pamphlet, that the Enemy, into whose hands we had resigned every thing, and at whose mercy you were resolved to leave us, by the reduction of our defensive force, was pursuing " a train of encroachment even during the Negotiation at Amiens." The fact most assuredly is, that with our eyes open to a decided and undissimulated system of ambitious and offensive intrigue on the part of France, we acted as if we had not the smallest incentive to distrust. The Country supposed that Ministers, with the advantage of better information, knew what they were about. The justice of this supposition will be better estimated by a reference to the official details of the Negotiation at Paris, than by any arguments the bitterest opponent of His Majesty's Servants could adduce. In short, this bubble broke in little more than a twelvemonth ; and after having borne insult upon insult—having passed by provocation after provocation—perceiving the continental aggressions of BONAPARTE without an attempt at remonstrance—after having lost the opportunity of  
making



making a common cause against the man who was aiming at universal sovereignty; you, Sir, contrived, by an art peculiar to the present conduct of affairs, so to time your rupture, though unlimited in your choice of the moment, as to give to the quarrel the character of injustice, to make the cause appear, in the eyes of Europe, the cause of Great Britain alone; and the occasion of the War a breach of national faith. Sir, I have conversed with some of the best-informed men who have lately arrived from the different Continental Courts, and I need not assure you, for you have been told it, that for the first time, since the burst of Revolutionary Politics, the general sentiment is decidedly against this Country, and more particularly as to the principle and circumstances of the present War. The Character of the British is lowered—the Spirit of the Nation, no longer the admiration of Foreigners, who, interested as they, for the greater part, must naturally be, have observed to vanish the broad system of enlarged policy, and substituted in its stead the petty politics of a German State.

It is now about six months since the far-famed Message from the King was brought down to the House, wherein a plea was inserted in the name of the Sovereign, for the truth of which (whatever might have been the self-deception at the time) Ministers themselves will not, I rather am inclined  
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to suspect, *now* contend\*.—During that short period, your Administration, Sir, has lost the Continental Possessions of HIS MAJESTY, which might have been saved had not procrastination been considered as an indispensable requisite in every transaction of the day—even the troops might have been withdrawn, but the transports were *rather* too late.—Ireland (through the inattention and inability of a Government, which, in spite of the grossest misconduct ever yet passed over at head-quarters, still continues) is reduced to a state which, if we afford it the epithet of doubtful, we concede more than the remedies that have hitherto been adopted, will warrant us in doing.—Here the system of delay was carried even to the *conception* of danger, and though the

\* I would ask Ministers, whether they really did suppose that the preparations going forward in the Ports of France and Holland were of sufficient magnitude (in a period of profound Peace, as described by themselves on the question of the PRINCE of WALES's Establishment) to warrant their framing a Message upon the subject?—or whether they would now insinuate, that events have justified the assertion, that these were the actuating motives of so hostile a measure? To one of two things they must plead guilty: they were either led to believe that the preparations were upon a very superior scale to that which proved afterwards to be the case, or they fabricated a motive, and made the Sovereign the medium of misleading the People, because the actual cause could not meet the face of day. They were either criminally ignorant, or viciously corrupt.

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Rebels

Rebels were sharpening their pikes under the very walls of the Castle, it required deliberation to determine whether or not Government should feel an alarm.—Pending this deliberation, which must necessarily employ some days, the Viceroy went as usual to the Park—the Courtiers at the Castle revelled in Irish claret, and the Officers amused themselves at cricket. Unfortunately, before the mind of Government could be made up *secundum artem* upon the point, a venerable and ever to be lamented sacrifice was offered up upon the altar of indecision and inability, and Rebellion reared its head, and spread dismay through the unguarded and unprepared Capital. Happily for that Country and for England, the councils of the Rebels were in a converse ratio with those of the State—they were as many hours too soon as we were days too late—else woeful indeed had been the event, and with a lost Country, we might at this moment have had to deplore the butchery of those men to whom the disaster would have been attributable, but for whom we should have then wept, as we now do for those whose shades hover round the Vice-regal Court, and reproach such as have hearts among them, with the fate to which their misconduct has devoted them. The alternate cajolings and insults to the Volunteers, which have rendered them averse to the public administration of affairs—the injury sustained by our Commerce—the Ports of Europe shut against

us

tis—the deficiency of our Revenue, in spite of the gratuitous and unnecessary misrepresentation to the House last December—our exertions strained to the utmost, and therefore the sooner likely to relax, with the hordes of BONAPARTE's freebooters at our very gates—with all these evils, and damning proofs of misconduct, what could induce this puny whipster to step forward your 'Squire, to throw down this gage of defiance, and to tempt the exposure of the real and dreadful dilemma to which the Country is reduced by your family councils and unsteady policy?—Had Mr. PITT's Administration left the Country in a state more wretched, more pitiable than that attributed to it in your Manifesto, still would it stand a proud comparison with the circumstances to which you have reduced it. If our resources were impaired, as he tells us, are they, do you wish us to believe, improved by your husbanding? If deserted by Allies, are we bettered by the loss of Hanover, and the desertion of Portugal? If the power and territorial possessions of France were, as your Defender describes, so vast, have they not increased and grown, whilst you stood trembling lest your terms for Peace should be rejected? In short, after having resigned into the hands of the Enemy all the acquisitions of a long and successful War—having torn out the nerves and sinews of our power—after having sanctioned the aggression of France towards its neighbours,

and compromised the Honour of the Country, here we stand upon the edge of our own cliffs and shores, waiting with firmness and courage—birth-rights of which you cannot rob us—the event of a contest which, if chance or fate should turn against us, the Sun of Britain is set for ever, and the politics of an ADDINGTON will have overthrown the venerated structure of our liberties, our rights, and independence.—Our Constitution will be sacrificed to a narrow and selfish policy, unknown as unresorted to by men born to govern, and our existence as a Nation bartered away for a few short months of feverish power, which you, Sir, and your Colleagues have enjoyed at the expence of the People. Our Navy, the first service in the world, has been made instrumental to its own degradation, by being dispatched upon expeditions incorrectly planned, and inadequately equipped. In the Channel, our force consists of vessels many of them unfit for service, and others ill adapted to the service on which they most probably will be employed. Every Naval Officer is disgusted with the intemperate and injudicious conduct of the Admiralty Board, and it would not be wonderful if the seeds of future mischief were germinating in every Dock-yard throughout the kingdom. Much is it to be lamented that the Noble Earl at the head of the Board, had not set about the business of reform, and opposed himself to every species of peculation *when he was*

*was in the West Indies*\*—He then by experience would have been able to calculate consequences, and

\* In his profession, there is no man for whom I entertain a higher respect than the Noble Earl to whom I allude; but political sagacity is not, necessarily, a component part of naval tactics. When, therefore, I see the Board of Admiralty converted into the Admiral's cabin, and the manners of the Ward-room introduced into the first and most interesting department of the Public Service—when I view the Veterans of our Navy treated like cabin-boys, or midshipmen, and our ablest Officers left unemployed—when I observe measures adopted in haste, and pursued *through obstinacy*; and behold uncontrolled and uncontrollable, the Head of the Department own no authority but his will; and set at defiance every member of the Council-Board, I most assuredly do not feel any inclination to vary my opinion upon the non-necessary co-existence of political talent and naval knowledge under the canopy of one pericranium.—Whilst the fate of the Country is in the balance, I hear of nothing but reform, and find men, who have faithfully discharged the duties of office for ten, twenty, fifty, and some even sixty years, turned adrift without reward or remuneration for past services;—and when I perceive this spirit of persecution issuing forth from a quarter, where the fruits of forbearance and oblivion for past conduct have been reaped and enjoyed, I cannot in my heart forgive the persecutor, nor rightly comprehend where his heart lies. I repeat, that his merits on ship-board are unrivaled; but has his Lordship been always proof against temptation? Does he conceive that the tongues of the inhabitants of Martinique, Guadaloupe and St. Lucie are tied? And does he already forget the manner in which the valuable island of Guadaloupe was lost, after we had taken possession of it? by what means, and to whom the loss of it is attributable? Did his Lordship

act

and the Country would have escaped the charge of ingratitude to her best friends, and the popular verdict would not have been given against a Government job.—Spain, whose money supplies we might have cut off, affords a revenue to the Enemy for his attack upon us ; and Portugal, a great object to the commerce of this Country, independently of being a long and faithful Ally, is deserted and abandoned. Here then, Sir, we are,

act upon the information that was given him ? or, rather, did he not, from that spirit of pertinacity which has tinged every measure of the present Admiralty Board, refuse belief to the official account dispatched to him, of a French Squadron, with VICTOR HUGUES, being on its way from France ? Let him who is immaculate throw the first stone ; but, let those who have erred themselves, be not, at least, among the foremost to lash the errors of others. It is but justice to Ministers to say, that they have done their utmost to dislodge the Noble Earl ; but, although he did once or twice pledge himself to resign, (and his successor not only was named, but every form of office had been gone through, except the act of installation), he retracted, and, in sullen defiance, proceeded on his career. Submission is the present creed of Ministers ; that is, where they cannot succeed by menaces ; and the tattered state of Administration requires that there should at least appear in the public eye, a due co-operation throughout the several departments of Government. The Noble Viscount who was to have succeeded, was obliged to submit with a good grace for the same purpose ; and for the self same good purpose is the Editor of the Manifesto instructed to hand down to posterity the victorious name of St. VINCENT, with every character of public virtue and devotion.

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at this moment, in a situation dissimilar in all its bearings from that in which we were in February 1801; I will concede—not as your injudicious Adulator would imply, but so deteriorated, that a Briton is almost ashamed of himself. Setting aside the losses and the sacrifices we have been made to undergo, we have sunk in the estimation of the Nations around us. Our Faith was till lately unimpeachable, and the quibbling of State Attornies was acknowledged in British Diplomacy. England might sometimes fail—*humanum est*—but she never dishonoured herself! How are the mighty fallen!—how is the scene revers'd!—The work is yours, Sir. The progress to ruin is a rapid descent, when once the ball is delivered—and much, deeply do I fear, that it was delivered with one hand, when you accepted the Seals from your Sovereign with the other.

I have the Honour to be, Sir, yours, &c.

FITZ-ALBION.

LETTER



## LETTER IV.

*To the Right Hon. William Pitt, &c. &c. &c.*

SIR,

Sept. 19, 1803.

THE redoubted Manifesto of Ministers presents so many fronts, which, if not imposing in their appearance, are yet calculated to divert attention, that an opponent has for a long time left undetermined where first to open his *fire*. Little entertainment and less profit can arise from an investigation of the black crimes and foul political errors which are here laid, Sir, to the charge of yourself and your Colleagues. Had I at hand a corps of those amphibious females whose vigorous temperament and turn of mind have taught them to call all things by their *proper names*, and who carefully avoid all circuitous and bye-ways in refuting falsehoods, I might let them loose upon the greater part of the Line, and their havock would be terrible ; but, as I have no such disposable force, I shall content myself with the means I possess, and leave the discordant principles of which this catalogue is made up, to militate against each other, and by their mutual counteraction to resolve themselves into empty air,

The

The first subject on which my eye glances at this moment, is worthy some little animadversion. In referring to the Egyptian Expedition, the Writer of the Manifesto seems to have wished he could either blot it out altogether, or give it a little lift into a later period of occurrence. Though he does not say that the late Administration planned, arranged, and dispatched this Armament, he goes so far, which *must be confessed liberal* in an adversary, as to allow that it *was prepared* by them. The Fleet of the Baltic, destined to raise a new British Flag, is crammed into the same sentence, occupying altogether less than four scanty lines, whilst fourteen pages are scarcely deemed sufficient to contain the catalogue of political high crimes and misdemeanours of which you, Sir, and your Accessories, are found guilty. But this is not all; even in this small allotment he is compelled by his duty to rob your Government of the most remote degree of credit on these two points. Having had much experience of *political foresight* since he has been a *Near Observer* of the conduct of his Employers; and being perfectly assured that a stone wall is as impervious to the eyes of one man as to those of another, he, with all the flippancy of diplomatic confidence, observes, that it were unjust to “*dissemble* (the very phrase confirms the inference) *that no Minister could have been sanguine enough to expect their success!*” This might all be considered very fair in

in an election contest for popular suffrage, and as the friends of the Minister think it necessary to bring him forward in the line his enemies (if he have any) would most covet to see him, that is, in direct opposition to his Predecessor in office, it is perfectly natural that they should wish to throw their former Patrons completely into shadow, and though compelled, for the general effect of the picture, to admit a few lights, yet so to disperse them as to prevent their being sufficiently prominent to attract the eye or to fix the attention of an observer.

But will it be credited by any person who has not read it, that this same Editor having decided that your Administration, Sir, could not possibly derive any credit from the conquest of Egypt, nor from the Battle of Copenhagen;—can, I say, any moderate man bring his mind to conceive, that he could possess that very uncommon, that superlative of a superlative degree of assurance, to make these *two very events* the ground-work of glory to the present Ministers—the key-stone of their greatness, and the harbinger of their future success? No words but his own can do justice to this talent of appropriation: “Under these fatal impressions,” (*which were made upon the Country by your retirement from Office, having reduced her affairs to the brink of destruction*), “under these fatal impressions,” says he, “of the public mind, both at home and abroad, was

Lord

Lord HAWKESBURY *obliged to submit the first overtures for a Treaty which appeared to all men almost impossible to be obtained upon any terms short of ruin and disgrace,*" (how far short these were, we have since had leisure to observe), "but to which we were at length happily conducted by *the Pacificator of the Baltic, after the glorious Battle of Copenhagen, and by the recovery of the Treaty of El Erish, which was the consequence of a series of unboped-for victories in Egypt.*"

What would a plain Country Gentleman suppose this to be, in a fair statement, but that, on the entrance of Mr. ADDINGTON and his friends into Administration, they found the Enemy in quiet uninterrupted possession of Egypt? and that the conduct of the Danes had been so aggressive, that though their Predecessors in Office, from their weakness and want of resources, had been incapable of taking up the quarrel, the barb still rankled in our breast, galling, but not to be extracted? I say, would not a calm dispassionate reader of the paragraph I have quoted imagine, that at such a crisis a Saviour of his Country had sprung up like a new Minerva, armed at all points, to hurl a set of impotent and incapable men from the Seat of Government? and having, by a vigour peculiar to himself, equipped a Fleet, and launched it into the Baltic, and having dispatched the gallant Sir RALPH ABERCROMBY to the shores of Egypt, that victory had declared by an

instantaneous charm in favour of both Expeditions? that blooming laurels had crowned their first onset; that the lustre of the Administration was lighted up from the Levant to the Sound; and that, to use the language of the romantic Editor himself, they were as fortunate as they proved themselves able and vigorous? When we reflect that these are the sentiments and assertions of Ministers themselves, it is scarcely possible to determine which is most worthy of admiration, their own want of candour or the impolicy of their conduct. It is a cruel confirmation of the weakness which every other part of their procedure has tended to impress upon the feelings of the Public. What must the reflecting mind experience when it takes a survey of our present state? Will it not almost be persuaded that some heavy fatality hangs over us? Will it not appear that Heaven itself prepares to pour out its vengeful wrath upon our devoted Country for some aberration from its high decrees, or for crimes unatoned for or unrepented? when thus arrived at the most awful crisis of our history, the most perilous and threatening period of our existence as a Nation, we are left to ride out the storm without talent, direct, concert to adopt, or energy to pursue any of those great measures which the necessity of the times demands.

It is not necessary to advance far into this paper, to discover the strange proneness to error which

which is observable in the conduct of it, and is indeed the characteristic of almost every individual connected with the present ruling powers. As a man of honour, I speak more with regret, more from apprehension for the safety of my loved Country, than from any feeling of party or of anger. The only approximation to the latter sentiment, arises from a conviction, that men who have, in every transaction, proved themselves invariably unequal to the duty they have undertaken, cannot be so blinded by self-love, or infatuated by self-interest, as not to feel their own incapacity, and the heavy responsibility they are incurring; a responsibility which, perhaps, alas! their own temerity may put it out of the power of a lost People to avail themselves. But to the point. In the course of twenty pages this Writer has told us, that the Administration formed upon your retiring, were of course inexperienced, but that the Country had confidence in, and rested on, your support of them, and regarded your advice as the best hope of the State; and yet, almost in the same breath it is asserted, that your support of these very Ministers, was *perhaps officious*. In one place you are described as being so popular and so looked up to by the People, that their despondency arose from their persuasion that Troy could be defended by no other arm than yours; and yet, with equal consistency as in the former instance, our Editor, a little further

ther on, assures us that the People were convinced that despair of success and want of talent alone drove you, Sir, from the Councils of His MAJESTY ; and upon this he makes a sort of *Slough of Despond*, the difficulty of extrication from which is enlarged upon, and most pathetically exhibited. The zealous endeavours and active enterprize of the new Comers, however, were not to be checked even by the formidable display of impending danger ; and what presumption, observes the Observer, could there be in succeeding to these men (the late Ministers), when the Public did not believe that things had of late been so wisely or so prosperously conducted, as to render it presumptuous in *any* set of Ministers to hope they should be able to conduct the business of Government with equal prudence, economy, or success !

Nothing could give this Gentleman (or the Junto) more satisfaction in the *present* difficulty and most arduous crisis of the State, than to have your support, Sir, for the present Ministry.—Great condescension!!—he even pre-supposes the pleasure of the Country in seeing you, Sir, once more in the Cabinet ; but lest this well-timed piece of flattery should affect so weak and vacillating a mind as you have ever been found to possess, he bids you beware of opposing them, for that then you must needs go to the wall—your talents are not calculated to meet the present formi-

formidable phalanx of Ministerial Powers—you are described rather as a sort of *Posture Master*, or *Complementario*, useful enough to make up their company complete, but who, standing alone, and as a private, can hope neither for an audience, nor a licence even to perform. Your *mere* gift of eloquence is here exposed in a most humiliating contrast to the *judgment, knowledge, firmness, and equanimity* of our present Minister!—though, strange to say, in the very preceding page we are assured, that this same eloquence might turn to great account on the other side of the question. “His financial skill,”—speaking of you, Sir, the Editor proceeds—“his commanding eloquence, and his *still* great influence in the country, would be a tower of strength to His Majesty’s Government.”

Thus, Sir, you perceive there is an opening for you to make your peace with these Gentlemen, and of once more raising yourself from the obscurity into which the brightness of their noon-tide sun has sunk you. Shine with a *borrowed light*, caught from their patronizing rays, and you will resume your former splendour—oppose them, and their dark side will still be turned to you, and the little popularity they have left you, and still *charitably allow you* to possess, will be withered and blasted. These incongruities, it must be confessed, throw an air of suspicion over every part of this notable production, and we can only  
account



account for the assemblage of such discordant and contradictory opinions in the course of about 80 octavo pages, by referring to the different points of view, and consequent variety of feeling, and emphatic expression of each Contributor to the Declaration\*. The want of judgment in the  
Collector,

\* I would on no account have it supposed, I mean to insinuate that there is the smallest appearance of a schism among the members of the Family Compact: far, very far from it; I allude merely to the difficulty evident throughout the publication, of conglomerating, as it were, the jarring and discordant interests of the different departments. One must issue a bull against the former arrangements of the Treasury—a second upon the former schemes of finance—a third throws in the grievances of all the offices through which he has run the gauntlet; whilst every Secretary must have one blow at least at his predecessor in office; and even the Clerks be admitted an inuendo against those whom they have been raised to supersede. But here even “the men are not visible in the acts of their authority;” and though the public good is no doubt regularly promoted, our present rulers think it wiser to let “the nation govern itself.” Were it otherwise, however, brotherly love would prove as blind as Justice and Fortune have been in their association with the *lares* and *penates* of the Family.

It was a pleasing sight to behold the affections of this united band, sympathizing in their lamentations at the depravity of the Ex-minister, on the occasion of Mr. PATTEN's motion. “See,” cry they, “he pays no regard to the ties of blood, or the tender relations of private life!” How naturally have they expressed their indignation at what the classical Editor terms in contempt, his Manlian virtue—how  
have

collector, and the ill assortment of the materials which he has so confidently, and yet so injudiciously put together, have induced a suspicion even of the many *simple truths* contained in the pamphlet, which, by being counteracted, have more the appearance, in their present shape, of invented calumnies and interested misrepresentations. A curious defence of Ministers has been set up by their friends, which affords the Country a fair opportunity of inferring the high opinion entertained of the Councils of the Country, by near, and partial observers of the materials of which it is composed. They maintain that great or shining talents are by no means desirable qualifications, nor in the least requisite in those who are entrusted with the conduct of public affairs; that the merchant's accompting-house is the repertorium from which statesmen are to be selected; and middling men from the middling class of society, the standard and description of those who are to revive the days of our EDWARDS and HENRYS, and consume in the blaze of their renown, the record that *would have borne* the name

have they denounced the cruel and unnatural being, " who would not bend to give a vote of acquittal " to an Administration whom he conceived to have been endangering the Constitution, and trifling with the solid interests of the Country, because his brother held a seat in the Cabinet!

" ——— acerba fata Romanos agunt

" Scelusque fraternæ necis ! "

of CHATHAM and his Son to a wondering and grateful posterity ! We are told, that the powers of eloquence are only necessary to gloss over useless measures, and that sound *solid sense* (happy epithet ! ) is more efficient in the public cause, than those vulgarly yclep'd high-minded principles of action which lead us to covet honour and reputation (proverbially bubbles), when our business is merely to keep the plague from our own doors, nor attempt to fill our buckets till the fire of our neighbour's house has communicated to our own. Every man for himself, and Heaven for us all ! The policy is evident, and its effects even in the bosom of time, not so enveloped in mystery as to preclude any person of powers, however ordinary, from calculating them. Who that remembers, in the days of his youth, the gallant Cock in Æsop's Fables, who, clate upon his dunghill, preferred one grain of delicious barley to all the jewels under the sun, does not clearly comprehend the force of this compliment to Ministers by their zealous friends, the *wisest* and most sanguine of their well-wishers ?

I have the Honour to be, Sir,  
With the highest respect,  
Yours, &c.

FITZ-ALBION.

LETTER

## LETTER V.

*To the Right Hon. William Pitt, &c. &c. &c.*

SIR,

Sept. 23, 1803.

A VERY principal charge brought against you, in their public declarations by the present Ministers, is the having forfeited the pledge you originally are said to have given them, of constant, zealous, and active support. In this breach of faith, your late colleague, Lord GRENVILLE, is implicated with you. It is scarcely possible to feel convinced that the Writer, who is made the channel of accusation, could have intended to be understood literally and seriously; and yet again he argues the point most *gravely* and *learnedly*, and brings into the field every weapon which he deems fit for service in this most extraordinary attack—the catapult of the ancients, the scalping-knife of the wild American, and the stiletto of modern Rome; so that we may conclude he expects the impression upon the spectators and audience to be no other than as a matter of sad sobriety. I am of opinion that you did, Sir, promise your hearty support to your Successors in Office; and my inducement for making this concession, arises from *your having publicly said so*, and not from the asser-  
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tion

tion of the Treasury Reporter, who, by always attempting to prove too much, generally creates a suspicion prejudicial to the interests of the cause he vainly attempts to defend. Besides the charge of inconsistency, which it appears to be his object to affix to your character, for entertaining a different opinion of the qualifications of Ministers at present, from that which you professed on their first admission into power, which he no doubt concluded would deter your Friends from discussing the subject, and for which purpose he threw up a Battery of Capitals and a Redoubt of Italics, must necessarily vanish before the most cursory and superficial investigation. No operation of the human mind can be more simple than the progress from approval to disapprobation; when the ground upon which that approval is founded is altogether relinquished, and another substituted in its stead, whose character it is to subvert, and whose purport it is to overthrow the very principle in which it originated. My Lord GRENVILLE and yourself, Sir, unequivocally did promise your support to the present Ministers; the former publicly in his place in the House of Peers, avowed the intention for himself, and in the name of His Colleagues. It was no secret pledge; it was not whispered through the key-hole of Buckingham House to the ear of His MAJESTY: it required not the sacred and solemn deposition of Mr. B—— to prove the existence of the fact. It was

was an open, explicit, and avowed declaration, made to the Country, in order to reconcile people to a change they most seriously deprecated, and to silence the rising Opposition to the introduction of men wholly new to business, and untried in the arduous duties of Administration. Thus far both accounts agree; but, *wanting what should follow*, our Editor's History is deficient, whilst a little advance on our part will, I suspect, give a different aspect to the whole business. My Lord GRENVILLE, speaking in the name of himself and his Friends, did promise support to Ministers; but was it absolute—was it unqualified—or rather, were not the precise conditions laid down? “It is my consolation,” said his Lordship, “to know that the same vigorous line of conduct (which had been pursued by the late Administration) is still to be pursued. Though my Colleagues and myself have retired from office, no change of measures will take place; but the system which has already proved so salutary, will still be acted upon by our Successors, to whom, *while they continue to act in a firm, resolute, and manly manner, we are determined to give our steady support* \*.” And did not you yourself, Sir, in the House of Commons, on the 16th of February, state, that “the measures likely to be pursued, and to which

\* Vide Debates on Lord DARNLEY's Motion, Feb. 10, 1801.

the

the retiring Ministry would still give their firm support, were those which the House had repeatedly sanctioned by their voices?" Lord SPENCER explained his intentions to the same effect; and I have no doubt that every Coffee-house Politician in England was perfectly aware of the condition upon which the retiring Ministers were to support their Successors. Then, Sir, the only remaining question of interest is, whether the conduct of His Majesty's present Ministers has been of a nature to warrant the opposition of Lord GRENVILLE and Lord SPENCER, and to have incurred the evident disapprobation which you have evinced on the subject of their general line of conduct? As the pledge was in itself conditional, so must it have been mutual. If support was to be expected, the conditions must have been fulfilled to ensure it. Could the late Ministers suppose that their Successors were so void of steadiness as to desert a proved and approved system, in order to try experiments? Was it natural and consequential, that those who now even openly and publicly declare that they entered on their situations *only* upon the supposition of support which their acknowledged weakness rendered essential to their remaining in office a single hour, should take the earliest occasion to thwart the plans, overturn the system, and contradistinguish their conduct from  
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that of their Predecessors \* ? Is human foresight so extended as to enable man to calculate upon proba-

\* " I must take upon me, therefore, to aver, that His MAJESTY's most gracious offer of his confidence to Mr. ADDINGTON *could not* have been—*was not* definitively accepted, until a solemn pledge of honour had been given by Ministers, for their *constant, active and zealous support* ; " (Cursory Remarks, p. 18.) The reason why *they could not* accept this confidence is candidly assigned, viz. that they felt their own weakness—the want of resources within themselves—their incapacity, and the inadequacy of the combined powers of their Administration to the great task of conducting the affairs of a mighty Empire. The Editor himself, however, tells us, that the support must have been considered as conditional by any man of ordinary conception, (that is, it was so considered by himself, and I do not think it will be necessary to break the level for his superior observation). He, however, supposes it to have been an *implied* condition. I maintain, that it was a *specific* condition. He foresaw, that if they " attempted to walk without the leading-string," they would, *ipso facto*, " cancel the agreement, as contrary to its spirit and true meaning." Content, Sir: He would appear ironical, whilst he asserts fact—for my Lords GREENVILLE and SPENCER, and Mr. PITT, in the Houses of Parliament did avow and publish their intentions—they declared the conditions of their support to the Country, and in the *presence of those very Ministers*, who would now impeach them for a breach of faith and promise.

What our Editor's intention was, in introducing the subject of the new Ministers "*attempting* to throw off the leading-string—or their "*appearing* to be qualified for their offices," I am not sufficiently a casuist to discern ; but I will venture to affirm, that a more poignant sarcasm could not be uttered



probabilities with unerring precision, and is condemnation to track the steps of the late Mini-

uttered against the men whose cause he has been employed to defend.—It must be recollected, that he sets out by informing us, that the utter incapacity of the new Ministers would have precluded the possibility of their accepting office without the aid and advice of their Predecessors.—This aid and advice can be no other than the leading-string—the mass of talent, information and influence which were to be props to men professedly unequal to the duties of their station. Surely then, if, impatient of restraint, this ricketty offspring spurn the aid they felt they could not do without, and publicly avow, that, though they could not walk alone, they thought the support of Mr. PITT himself *officious*, it is not a matter of wonder that the indignation of their Patrons should be excited—or that they should be considered in the light of Enemies—as Rivals *never*.

It may be said, they had gained experience—Experience ingrafted on ability, like seed in a good soil, may bring forth its fruits in due season; but, no matter—This experience was but of a few months growth—not skin deep, and could only have served to confirm these New Men in the opinion of their own incapacity—but now, our Editor supposes an extreme case:—"If," says he, "they should *dare*—(they can call spirits from the vasty deep!)—*dare* to be *firm, prudent, virtuous, or fortunate, or to be successful in any of their measures*," the loss of the promised support would be the consequence.—I do not profess to be the flatterer or friend of the present Ministers; but, I can lay my hand upon my heart, and declare my conviction, founded on the strictest and most minute investigation, that they certainly have not forfeited the friendship or support of their Predecessors, by the commission of any one of these *daring acts*!

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ster, because he suffered himself to be deceived by the hollow professions of a man who, from infancy, he had called his friend, and who obtained his countenance by a promised adherence to principle? Surely not—though, perhaps, I may take the liberty of pressing an idea of the learned Editor into my service, and avow that I cannot help regarding the attachment of the late CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER to Mr. ADDINGTON, and the delicacy (which I substitute for *deference*) he has shewn in situations and under circumstances where his reprobation rather was courted, as a weakness, and indeed the only one I have ever, as a common Observer, “discovered in his character, but which I know that I do not mistake, in attributing to the most amiable and purest source.”

Had this leniency, however, been duly appreciated, had contrition followed the first wanderings from duty—had the present CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, acknowledging his error, pleaded the flutterings of a heart unused to the giddy heights of Greatness—the hardship of being tantalized with the shadow of Power without the talent of appropriating its fruits,

“Quo mihi Fortuna si non conceditur uti.”

Had he felt his error, in soaring on his *Icarian wings*, which you, Sir, had scarcely cemented, your mercy would have been well-timed, and the

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Country would have acknowledged its advantages —But that, after wantonly neglecting advice, and, in the open face of day, proclaiming your early support *officious* ; after having (as the Right Hon. Gentleman's new ally dramatically describes a Gipsy stealing a child, and then disfiguring it, to make it pass for her own), new-christened measures, that they might not be recognized as the manufacture of his Predecessor ; and having, to crown all, thrown down the gauntlet of defiance, that the late Ministry should be deemed open to condemnation for withholding their approbation, is too absurd, even for the warmest supporters of Mr. ADDINGTON to imagine—What have they done ? They have withdrawn their support from men who had pledged themselves to abide by the line of firm, resolute, and manly conduct—but who have proved themselves the most unsteady, irresolute, and weak persons that ever presumed to take upon themselves the duties of official business.—Is it an impeachment of His Majesty's late Servants, that they do not sanction imbecility, because they promised support to an individual who has himself changed sides, and takes to his bosom men who have been in systematic opposition, for years, to the principles which he professed to adopt as his rule of action ? —Is the discountenance of experiments whose success has never been problematical to the most superficial observer, which were in direct hostility to

to the line agreed upon, a line which had more than once saved the Country, and maintained the assailed dignity of the Crown, an act of criminality? Or can Mr. PITT be accused of inconsistency, in withdrawing his protection from a Party who have by every act courted his disapprobation, and who most assuredly have done every thing but *pursue those measures which the House had repeatedly sanctioned by its voice during the former Ministry*? No; I repeat impossible. Let the Casuist and the Sophist join issue, and I defy their united powers to carry conviction to any mind of common candour or honesty in the Country.

We are told that it was observable at the period when your pledge of support was given, from the very promise itself, and the character of the Parties (which, I conclude, takes in both sides), that the germs of future difference and dissention were easily to be discovered by a *Near Observer*.—Now if this be correct, and if the incapacity of Ministers, which he has just before acknowledged, was so manifest as to require the prop and support of their Predecessors, why, having at the moment of inauguration (which, if it means any thing, must mean the period at which the pledge was given) this gift of foresight, did not Mr. ADDINGTON apply it to the best purposes?—why, having divined your treacherous intentions, did he not act upon the knowledge, and pray His MAJESTY to check his coming honours?

Was he a Cassandra to himself, to turn a deaf ear to the *supernatural* suggestions of his own good sense? Had he availed himself, for once, of the advantages he possessed, he would have laid his pretensions at the foot of the Throne, and prayed his Royal Master to receive back the Seals, which his Friend and Champion tells us, and he himself acknowledges, he could not have dared to employ, had it not been for that Promise of Support which has in one place been termed officious, and is now unequivocally declared to have been rotten, and of nought, when first pledged? But this is not all; we are solemnly assured that some *Ministerial Lavater*, or *Official Cunning Woman*, clearly foresaw that the countenance of the late Administration would be confined to that line of conduct which they had uniformly pursued themselves whilst in Office, and that, should the New-Comers attempt to throw off their leading-strings (without which, their kind Defender has admitted, they could not have hobbled on), they would cease to obtain it! This must have been considered a most wonderful discovery, especially as we find recorded about the very period of time, those very sentiments from the mouths of the retiring Ministers themselves; that as long as they continued to act in a firm and resolute manner—as long as they pursued the line of Policy which had ensured the safety of the Commonwealth—as long as they followed up that system which had been admitted,

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*by the Country to be essential to her true interests, so long should the New Administration have the firm and steady support of the Old—how soon the Pledge was forfeited on the part of the Complainants, I shall now leave you to determine.*

I have the Honour to be,

With the greatest respect, Sir,

Your's, &c.

FITZ-ALBION.

## LETTER VI.

*To the Right Hon. William Pitt, &c. &c. &c.*

SIR,

*Sept. 30, 1803.*

I ENDEAVOURED in my last Letter to expose the futility of the charge urged against you in the Ministerial Declaration, on the score of Political Inconsistency and Breach of Faith. Little more was necessary to this purpose, than stripping and exposing it in its true colours. The detection of its weakness at once, was only prevented by the ambiguous covering which the Editor threw over the shapeless abortion, and the jesuitical sophistry with which he trusted to confound the *simple conceptions* of the majority of his readers, who may be naturally looked for among the Adherents of the present Administration. To suppose that a pledge of support to any man, is to extend to his tergiversations and apostacies, is a paradox which, till the present times, I should have conceived no one sufficiently bold to maintain, and which, even now, none would hazard, but as the extreme expedient of a sinking cause. We certainly have before our eyes the example of forty millions of people, who, for *consistency sake*, call that a Republic which they feel to be the  
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most arbitrary Despotism ever established for the curse of mankind ; for *consistency sake* they prate of Liberty with shackled hands ; and, for *consistency sake*, boast Equality with the bondsmen's mark upon their dastard fronts. They have aided to overthrow Monarchy ; and hence these besotted Slaves, *ipso facto*, conceive that they must be Republicans. This, Sir, I imagine to be the species of consistency which your Successors would have you display. They would that you should, after having been tied to the tail of their triumphal car, suffer yourself to be dragged over mountains and through bogs, through filth and mire, from the right to the left, always extolling, always approving, singing, "*Io Triumphes !*" and calling upon the people to follow and join in the chorus ! This, Sir, is the support they mean ; and which they would conceive to be constant, active, and zealous ! Where, let me ask, will they find a solitary single instance of inconsistency in the political character, or in the conduct of the late Minister towards the Country ? Has *he* shifted about ?—has *he* to-day unsaid the opinion of yesterday ?—has *he* been compelled to explain, or fly to subterfuge ?—has *he* committed himself on any one point, from the hour he gave this loudly-published pledge, to the present ? Does the Multitude cry out against him ?—do the Middle Orders reprobate him ?—does the Aristocracy impeach him for irregular, unfair, or wavering



ing conduct ? No ; but he has been inconsistent in the eyes of the Minister, because he has been consistent in his duty to the Country. He could not see the Commonwealth in danger, without directing his whole attention to her circumstances : he kept his eye on the helm, and though interdicted from taking it, suffered not the faltering Steersman to run the Vessel aground. This was inconsistent : he should have concurred, and, if she had struck, have awaited with the undisciplined crew the curses of the Empire, for not averting the evil he foresaw, because it was necessary to adhere to his pledge of *constant, active, and zealous support* to Mr. ADDINGTON. He saw that not only those saving principles which had been in the first outset adopted by his Successor, were deserted, nay, reversed, but that the tone of Ministerial Politics was now to be taken from the Bench of the Old Opposition ; nay, some of the most violent opposers of the measures which the present Administration had pledged themselves to pursue, were received with open arms, gratified with pensions, and arrayed in the purple plenitude of power. Is the consistency of Mr. PITT to be questioned for discontinuing that *constant* support, that *active* assistance, and *zealous* co-operation, which, if promised, were necessarily promised to System rather than to Individuals ? Is his high character to be impeached for breaking faith, in refusing to sanction

( 57 )

sanction error, and abet folly, when he had given a pledge to promote measures and act with principles founded on their very opposites? Absurd ! the face of every thing was changed.

“Qui color albus fuit, nunc est contrarius albo.”

And the best comment upon such weak and absurd strictures will be found in the old Epigram :

So alter'd are thy face and mind,  
'Twere perjury to love thee now.

The next allegation brought against you, Sir, by this Public Accuser, is of a more serious nature, as it is on a subject solemnly interesting to every man who holds the Constitution worth preserving, and wishes Britain still to maintain her rank among the Nations of the Earth. It refers to the Negotiation for your return to Office. You are best acquainted with all the circumstances of this affair. I profess to know few of them, but those few will I trust answer the purpose of confounding false assertion and untwisting the entanglements which specious insinuation has endeavoured to place around the transaction. I have no doubt that a Country Gentleman, who has this morning in the *TRUE BRITON* communicated his sentiments upon the subject of the Impeachment of the late Ministers, is in his own mind thoroughly impressed with the conviction that the hands of their Successors are perfectly clean

clean—that they have no concern whatever in the Libel—and that their Clerks in Office have merely sent a few copies to their friends in the country. That I am not so easily satisfied, I must acknowledge—the more especially, as I am acquainted with facts sufficient to render the whole ground of this Defence untenable for an instant—of this the Country Gentleman may rest assured, that I should have deemed it as humiliating to myself as it would have been insulting to you, Sir, had I deigned to notice a libellous Pamphlet, written by an individual of whom no one has heard—for whom nobody cares—and whose only recommendation to the present men is, having most heartily abused the late Minister for refusing to lavish the public money upon him, and afford him a pension as the retaining fee for his pen.—This is not the sort of person I should have thought it necessary to encounter—I have expressed my opinion upon the subject before, and I know too well the source from which he draws his slimy stream of calumny, to allow myself to believe for a moment that he is the substantive Author of the Libel in question\*. As the

\* It is worthy remark, that the new Ally of Mr. ADDINGTON, the present Candidate for Office *proposed by the Right Hon. Gentleman to HIS MAJESTY*, has ever professed his principal political object to be the exclusion of Mr. PITT from any future Administration ;—that the first proselyte installed

the *Ministerial Manifesto*, therefore, I shall still consider it.—Firm in my persuasion, and unfaltering in my purpose, I shall not be deterred from hunting down Malignity or pursuing Calumny into their inmost darkest recesses. I do not pretend, Sir, to the knowledge which the *Near Observer* displays, in defining the exact period of each revolution in your mind—at what dinner you were cordial with Mr. ADDINGTON, or at what precise hour you ceased to call him Right Honourable Friend—your looks, gestures, scowl, and smile sarcastic, are equally out of my province. I am willing to give up all these advantages, so peculiarly his own, to the learned Editor, whose talents at the chronological arrangement of occurrences in high life, must render his contributions to the Fashionable Columns of the only Official Journal, as valuable at least as the political communications which are filtered through him from the Treasury to that Journal. Upon

stalled in the lucrative Honours of Office by the Minister, was the personal opponent of Mr. PITT; and that the man fixed upon to put together the materials of the Libellous Manifesto, is a Renegade from the Party of Mr. PITT, galled by a supposed injury, because the Statesman whose virtues he was in the habit of extolling in common with the mass of his countrymen, refused to purchase panegyric, or pension the pen for fame, which his own super-eminent abilities had never ceased to raise to themselves—“ *Causa latet—res est notissima!*”

the 18th of January last, you are said to have dined with Mr. ADDINGTON, and to have confirmed the bond ; we are led to suppose, indeed, that you *bob and-nobbed* with him in renewing the former pledge\*. The friendship, he asserts, continued till this period—nor can he absolutely say that it was retracted or dissolved till the third week in April, although there remained in the interval no appearances of its effect or existence. But early in this month the Negotiation, as he terms it, for your re-admission into Office, was agitated ; so that, Sir, you will perceive the real motive for withdrawing your countenance from the Minister was, the failure of this attempt to re-establish yourself.—Mean and despicable as is this attempt to apply so sordid a principle of action to conduct open and unequivocal ; it merits a contempt which words cannot supply, but which will be amply felt by every honest man of every party. This *very honourable and candid* insinuation is followed up by a detail of the mode in which this Negotiation was carried on. Now, Sir, you will bear me out, I am sure (though with our Editor I may think it too much to

\* It is scarcely worth a parenthesis to observe, that a certain Member of the Cabinet *was absent in the Country at the period of this dinner*. Mr. PITT no doubt recollects the circumstance, which will fully serve to identify that *Right Honourable Gentleman* with the *Near Observer*, who professes to have been *at a distance at that time*.

appeal

appeal to you for the accuracy of anonymous allegation) in asserting, that NO SUCH NEGOTIATION EVER DID EXIST; and when it is considered that the fabricators of, and contributors to, the farraginous Libel, were fully and officially aware of this, what must the Country think of her state—that on such men her existence depends, and to such keepers is entrusted her vitality, her heart's blood?—Now, Sir, how will Ministers acquit themselves on this occasion?—They either were, or they were not, concerned in the publication of this untruth.—If the former, I should in mercy draw the curtain upon it—if the latter, why is it not *demi-officially* contradicted in their own Paper? The very man upon whose shoulders they have, in order to evade the ignominy of the transaction, placed the odium of the Pamphlet, is their own dependant—their *Eulogy Fancier*, in their hired Journal.—If this man has betrayed confidence, or garbled facts afforded him for the Paper defence of Ministers, and published a series of half true and half fabricated assertions—then is he condemnable, and his Employers must indignantly dispossess him of his *high office and calling*. But is this the case?—No!—He still pursues the grateful task of offering incense where the Gods are propitious. He not only is the avowed Editor of the *Treasury Manifesto*, but is in the regular pay of Administration for defending its measures, and supporting the tottering fabric

fabric of its reputation.—Would the purchased slave dare fly in the face of his imperious Task-masters?—Would a man transgress orders upon the fulfilment of which depended his daily bread?—It is high time the Country should know how the case stands, and I trust to be able to expose the artifices and subterfuges which have been employed to throw aspersions on your integrity, and to impeach your disinterestedness—I must defer this however to my next, having already occupied sufficient of your time at one sitting.

I have the Honour to be,

With every sentiment of respect, Sir,

Yours, &c.

FITZ-ALBION.

## LETTER VII.

*To the Right Hon. Henry Addington, &c. &c. &c.*

SIR,

Oct. 5, 1803.

I FEEL it necessary again to address myself to you. Great pains have been taken by your Friends to impeach the veracity of an assertion I made in my last Letter to Mr. PITT—*That no Negotiation for the return of that great Statesman to Power ever did exist.* Some profess to have been informed of circumstances which incontrovertibly prove that such Negotiation did take place ; others have heard it asserted by your Confidential Counsellors, and cannot doubt it ; a third description refer to the general admission of the fact, at the supposed period of its existence ; and *some few* cannot be brought to believe that any Minister would make a public assertion (for amongst the varied description of persons I have conversed with upon this topic, not one has even for a moment doubted the official character of the Manifesto) so open to detection, and so easily exposed. Every one of these Gentlemen possesses a good ground, no doubt, for the formation of his opinion ; but as they all differ, they cannot all be right : and it will require the state-  
ment



ment of a very few facts, which you, Sir, will have the goodness to confirm, to prove that they are all in the wrong. Negotiation, I conceive I am borne out in considering to be a correspondence, grounded on some preliminary principle by which the contracting parties are equally bound to abide, in which mutual claims are discussed, advantages canvassed, and a reciprocity of interests endeavoured to be established; at least the progress of these may be considered as Negotiation; but if one party only make overtures, and, in making those overtures, is unable to lay down a preliminary, correspondent with the feelings, policy, or principles of the other party; and in consequence of this disagreement *in limine*, the intercourse ceases—I do maintain that *no Negotiation can be said to have existed\**. Now, Sir, how far this applies

\* Admitting the fact (for the sake of argument) to stand as the Treasury Editor has stated it, what does it go to prove?—that Mr. ADDINGTON, feeling his Administration had been formed to the exclusion of all the Talent of the Country, could not but experience extreme alarm at the idea of encountering the difficulties which were about to present themselves in the approaching Crisis: he sought therefore the accession of powers which had been habituated to the charge, and which had more than once saved the Country from ruin and disgrace. He applied to Mr. PITT, who declared, in the first instance, that he could not entertain the thought of Office until His Majesty's pleasure were distinctly signified to him; and, when that was the case, he should feel it his duty, in the very alarming and critical circumstances of the Country, to recommend

( 65 )

applies to the case in point, you will yourself best judge. A simple affirmative, or negative, is all

commend for His Majesty's approbation, an Administration composed of the best talents that could be selected. Lord GRENVILLE, it was natural enough to suppose, was included in this designation. Lord GRENVILLE and Lord SPENCER might probably be particularized. No, says Mr. ADDINGTON—though the Empire be endangered, our Constitution threatened, and even the Throne menaced—*perish all*, sooner than treat with a man whom “ I am compelled by honour not to admit into the Council with me, because he has uniformly condemned every measure of my Administration.” So, because My Lord GRENVILLE, and the Friends of Mr. PITT, discovered and exposed the weakness of measures which went to undermine the best interests of the State, and declared their opinion of the weakness of an Administration, which the Leader of it himself unequivocally acknowledges, by his daily attempts to recruit it, the great talents and high political acquirements, the exalted energy and fund of experience which are to be found, and which characterize that Illustrious Body of Men, are to be excluded from the service of their Country, when beset with danger and threatened with destruction. Is there really nothing personal in the sway of these men, even in their own mode of telling the story? As the fact *really* stands, if they still persist in calling themselves the Servants of the Public, they can be considered in no other light than as unjust Stewards, rendering a false account of that which is entrusted to them, looking to the Mammon of Unrighteousness for safety in retreat, and sacrificing the interests of their Masters to their own base and selfish purposes. Let them remember that they cannot serve God and Mammon; and that the day may arrive, when they will be called upon to render up an account of their stewardship.

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I ask

I ask to a few very plain questions.—Did you not acknowledge to your friends, in March last, the inadequacy of your Administration to pursue the great measures which were deemed necessary for the safety of the Country? Did you not at the same period consult them upon the propriety of giving up the reins which trembled in your hands, into those of your great Predecessor? For this purpose, did you not endeavour to sound him upon the subject, and finding him averse to returning to office, because he felt what was very generally believed, that his return would not be agreeable to that High Authority whose prerogative it is to appoint its own Functionaries? Did not you, Sir, persevere and prevail upon Lord MELVILLE to go down to Walmer, *to solicit, on his own terms*, the return of Mr. PITT to office? Did not Mr. PITT then, as he had before done, unequivocally declare that nothing should tempt him to enter into any Negotiation for a resumption of his official situation, unless he were convinced the Country really stood in need of his services, and that HIS MAJESTY'S pleasure were made known to him?—These, Sir, are questions which refer merely to the embryo Negotiation, and which, knowing you cannot conscientiously deny, I shall consider as affirmatively answered. Of the personal interview (*solicited also by you, Sir*), I cannot profess to have a sufficient knowledge;

ledge ; but this I may affirm, and did I possess the touchstone of your heart at this moment, you would not, could not controvert the assertion—that twenty-four hours after your return to town, your sentiments, your ideas, underwent a complete revolution ; that which you considered just at Bromley, you were taught to reprobate on regaining your own Head-quarters—the boon which you bowed in humility to gain, you then spurned, and brushed from you with contempt.

“ Lord MELVILLE,” your panegyrist informs us, “ was as much disappointed at the extravagant propositions upon which the Negotiation went off, as the Ministers themselves were.”—Now I do declare, and will abide by your authority when called upon, as I think you must be in your public situation at no distant period ; that Mr. PITT made no single proposition—that he refused to enter into any explanation of terms—and equally into any arrangement for Places, &c.—That Lord GRENVILLE might be mentioned by his former Colleague, as a man who had proved himself worthy the important situation he had so long and so ably held, and, by a fair deduction, that he thought him no less fit for the employment than formerly, I cannot possibly pretend to affirm or to deny—it may or it may not be so ; but this I have no hesitation to assert, that the return of his Lordship was never made a subject of discussion, much less the *sine quâ non* of

Mr. PITT's return to Office.—The fact, as I have before stated it, is, that no Negotiation ever did take place—Mr. PITT would not proceed without bearing the pleasure of HIS MAJESTY.—This was the preliminary *sine quâ non* of that upright Statesman, by which he resolved steadily to abide. If this be considered as *extravagant* or *unreasonable*, it only proves, after all that has been said upon the Courtly propensities of the present, that our late Minister possesses more dutiful deference to the feelings of the King, that his conduct is equally remote from the bold licence of modern Patriotism, and the dangling obsequiousness of a trained Levee Hunter.

The sentiment expressed in the House of Commons, and felt to the remotest parts of the Country, upon the subject of the return of Mr. PITT to Office, is construed by this self same friendly panegyrist, Sir, into absolute *recommendation*, as *decidedly dictatorial* to the Sovereign.—Now it is curious, that only in the preceding paragraph we are assured, with every appearance of *Official Authority* (indeed, upon any other it must be nonsense), that had you been able to bring over Mr. PITT to your Party, and to induce him to forego his *extravagant terms* (the real nature of which I have described), the sanction of HIS MAJESTY *would not have been wanting in due time*—that is to say, after you had carried the point you thought necessary to secure your permanence in Office,

you

you would *dictate*, or at least *recommend*, the return of Mr. PITT to the Confidence of His MAJESTY.—Here again I beg leave to ask, which savours most of indelicacy towards a *quarter too high to be mentioned*—the manly avowal of certain Members of the Legislature in their Seats, that the great powers of Mr. PITT were essential to the interests of the Country, or the subtle and secret attempt to enter upon a Negotiation. and to arrange terms with Mr. PITT himself, without either consulting that high quarter, or even ascertaining how far it would be agreeable?—Which was most respectful—this very attempt on your part, or the determination of Mr. PITT to take no step till he knew that he was not forcing his way into Councils from which he had retired—and till his advice was thought necessary for the good of the Country by the Sovereign himself? I am not however yet driven to the adoption of antithesis, for the purpose of illustrating the powers of mind, or estimating the qualities of Mr. PITT's heart. Sir, we are arrived, though by different roads, at the point which your Defender terms the breaking off of the Negotiation, but which I think better characterized, as a failure in the *Experiment of Negotiation*. This he attributes to the *extravagance* of Mr. PITT's proposition—I have stated the resolution of Mr. PITT, which may be called a proposition, if the candid Editor please—but to which I think the Public will apply any epi-

epithets rather than those of unreasonable and extravagant.

To proceed then—As His MAJESTY's pleasure was never made known to Mr. PITT, the conclusion naturally follows, that this same experiment of Negotiation was made without the Royal Sanction, or Concurrence—a proceeding which, however likely to benefit, perhaps to save the Country, had the scheme been carried into effect, cannot be considered as very respectful to the Sovereign, nor absolutely consistent with that deference which, upon less important occasions, you have so properly paid to every inclination of the Court—I cannot suppose that it was an attempt to impose in a certain high quarter, an opinion that the late Minister was caballing to regain his situation and power.—I will not think so meanly of your Advisers, Sir, as to imagine that ever they could hope to induce the Country to credit such an imputation upon the high mind and character of your Predecessor—very little pains, it must be confessed, however, have been taken to do away the industriously circulated and demi-official report that Mr. PITT's terms could not be agreed to, because his arrangements were so extensive as to go very near to overthrow every shadow of power that remained to you.—Mr. H. ADDINGTON and Mr. BRAGGE were inclined to this opinion, and if common rumour were not proverbially a liar, I might be induced to believe, with others, that those

those Gentlemen not only prepared you for your expedition into Kent, but, like tender parent-birds sending forth their young and callow offspring, defined your powers, gave you their counsel, and warned you of those toils and snares which are every where spread for the inexperienced—that on your return, having disregarded their advice, forgotten their precautions, and *advanced too far*, it became necessary to undo all that you had artlessly been guilty of—that they found in you too great anxiety to gain a powerful ally—You had forgotten the brood at home; and had so far committed yourself as to endanger the nest before it was completely feathered\*. This is natural,

\* On Mr. A——'s return to town from Kent a Council was held, as it was believed by an anxious Public, upon some important dispatches from the Continent. The only subject which was discussed *of importance* on that day, however, related to a proposition made in the openness of the Right Hon. Gentleman's heart, that, convinced of the difficulties which threatened Administration from without and within, he deemed it expedient to make such arrangements as might induce a certain High Authority to take other men to his confidence, at the same time reserving to themselves the choice and selection of certain places, pensions, remunerations, &c. &c. The discussion (it cannot be called a debate) was spirited, but of short duration, and if I am rightly informed, the Right Hon. Gentleman did not, as usual, take a middle course, but veer'd completely round, and joined with his brother councillors in an unanimous and manly resolution—



natural, and, if true, I only condemn your too easy acquiescence in what you must have known to be unfair at the time—for it appears as if the sanction to future proceedings hinged here, rather than in the High Quarter so often, and so indelicately alluded to.

The Libel in question, Sir, does not merely in the tone of authority give the secret facts of this affair; but, without appearing to assume the part of a Casuist, it boldly asserts that you are still inclined, “strongly inclined to *comply* with every *just and honourable* wish of Mr. PITT.” Are we to judge, Sir, by implication then, that the terms of that Hon. and Right Hon. Gentleman were *unjust* and *dishonourable*?—If it mean any thing, what can it mean else?—And here, Sir, let me ask, can you lay your head on your pillow satisfied with the cajolings of artful Dependents, and the soothing influence of adulation?—Can Con-

solution—to keep their places as long as they were able. From this period the opening greatness of Administration may be dated, how

— Nihil est quod credere de se  
Non possit.

“But where has this Praxityles been prying?” cry the betrayed Brethren. I answer—Walls, we have long been told, have ears—that *these very walls*, about two years and a half ago, had mouths also, I very shrewdly suspect. Why then may they not babble a little to me, who can turn their chit chat to such good purpose?

science

science be so silenced by the career of power as to suffer without some murmur the transgression of the first and most important principle of morality?—Can ingratitude have so varnished her hateful form, as to have glided imperceptibly into your heart, and called up smiles to court the favour and to make proselytes of those whose principles, habit and education had taught you to despise?—'Tis strange, 'tis passing strange, too much for our belief—yet facts are stubborn, and surmise has almost shaken hands with conviction. One only alternative is left, by which you may escape the obloquy that general comment on your private character is in the act of producing—You must acknowledge that the false zeal of surrounding, infatuated, and too deeply interested friends, has led them to countenance untruths, and to afford the apparent sanction of Government to the circulation of fabricated calumnies—or you must, with such overbearing evidence attached to the charge, submit to be esteemed the spring and fountain-head of this unjust, unmerited, and undignified assault upon your Predecessor in office, your former Patron, and your first Friend.

I have the Honour to be, Sir,

Your's, &c. &c.

FITZ-ALBION.

## LETTER VIII.

*To the Right Hon. Henry Addington, &c. &c.*

SIR,

O<sup>r</sup>. 18, 1803.

ON a former occasion I cursorily noticed a very conspicuous and most extraordinary paragraph of the Government Pamphlet, which attempts to fix the charge of folly and drivelling upon any man who could at any time have entertained the smallest degree of confidence in the durability of the late Peace. The frivolous insolence of such an observation, coming, which I assert it does, from Ministers themselves, would require no further incentive to general indignation, than its own laboured publicity; but it has produced an effect very different, I presume, from that which your friends intended, or the Treasury Advocate had in contemplation when he made it. A man, when he is told that he has committed himself, or finds that he has fallen into any palpable error, very naturally recurs to the circumstances which led him astray, and to the actuating cause of his having diverged from his regular and steady line. When, therefore, the majority of the People of Great Britain—who certainly were, by every art of persuasion, and every trick of office, which they were

were far from suspecting at the time, duped into the idea of the Peace being so carried as to admit no doubt of its permanency—are told that they are ideots and drivellers for giving any credit to the assurances of Government, and should bury their folly and credulity in some bye-place or corner, it is not very extraordinary that they should feel inclined to ask, by what means they were first led to adopt an opinion now so scouted and so abundant in disgrace. The result of their inquiry must establish the point upon which the learned Editor and myself are at issue; whether the believers in the durability of the Peace were besotted by the dullness of their own perceptions, or by the communicating influence of you, Sir, and your Administration;—whether, in short, Nature has played them a slippery trick, or that they have been made fools of by Mr. ADDINGTON.

The merits of the Treaty of *Amiens*, taken abstractedly, are foreign to the present question. I never could consider it as a Peace of glory, or a subject of National Gratulation; still it sheathed the sword of desolation and blood, and was so far welcome to every friend of humanity. The terms were universally admitted to be excessive; and my Lord GRENVILLE truly described the relative state of the Contracting Parties, when he made the *uti possidetis* the basis of the Negotiation

on the part of the French, whilst the British were obliged to submit to the *status quo ante bellum*. Peace, such as it was, met the wishes of some part of the Community, though, upon the whole, it was received with a chilling indifference, and considered, as your new adherent Mr. SHERIDAN charitably painted it, such as we might be glad of, but could not possibly be proud of. You, Sir, beheld the public opinion through the medium of your own feelings; and that they played the parasite, may be easily traced in the terms which you applied to the Negotiation, and its ultimate result, during the discussion of the Definitive Treaty—this is farther confirmed by the publication of a similar opinion in the Pamphlet of your Defender, who informs us that “the Ministers *were confident* of having deserved well; *they had* (says he) *obtained a Peace for the Country beyond the hopes of the wisest and most sanguine of their well-wishers.*” You, Sir, at the period to which I have just alluded, declared in the House, that you felt convinced the People hail’d your Peace as a blessing—but did you stop here? no, Sir—“it was a blessing (you continued) *which would be long preserved by a system of firmness and conciliation!*” And yet now we are officially ridiculed and contemned—we are pointed at by every Clerk in the Treasury, for ever having entertained

entertained an idea of its durability\*. “ Government (says our Editor), surely did not encourage too sanguine a hope of the duration of Peace, when they described it to be *an experiment*.” When, Sir, was it ever described to be an experiment, until its failure was evident to all?—Did

\* The Public might have had rather less confidence in the durability of the Peace, in spite of the assurances of the Minister, *that it would long be preserved*, had they been aware that it was never intended to conform to a leading Article of the Treaty of Amiens, and that it had been resolved, before the Faith of the Country had been pledged to the fulfilment of it, that Malta should be retained at all events. But this has afforded us one of those happy specimens of Ministerial secrecy so much extolled by the hired Panegyrists of the Party. It was kept in the back ground, and therefore I must think it unfair to treat us (Simpletons as we perforce acknowledge ourselves to be), with such taunting contempt for our credulity. I do not pretend to assume that we may not have so far degenerated from the good Old Stock, as to have merited the disgraceful charge of being *Fools by Nature*, but we were unquestionably, as far as the Minister possessed the power of *making converts* (and some illustrious instances have occurred of late), made the fools of Mr. ADDINGTON also; and this inference very naturally presents itself upon reading the elegant Reproach upon the Country; or rather, it is drawn by the Editor himself—that whoever could be made the dupe of the Right Hon. Gentleman’s statements or professions, must be that Fool by Nature, by which the *Near Observer* so quaintly and delicately designates the People of Great Britain.

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it not first run a gauntlet of titles, and was not it principally considered as unlikely to be infracted, because, by giving up every thing, there remained nothing to dispute about? If, however, you now choose to call it an experiment, let me ask what was the experiment to establish? Was it a question of figures, or a puzzle at physiognomy? Was it a sum in arithmetic, or whether the countenance of BONAPARTE bespoke sincerity? If the former, the calculation resolves itself into this simple query—How much a man may make of the remainder, when he has given up every thing?—if the latter, a disciple of LAVATER would have made an infinitely better Negotiator than my Lord CORNWALLIS. Would the people of this Country, do you imagine, Sir, have been so tamely acquiescent in the new-fangled doctrine which you broached during the discussion of the Preliminary Treaty?—Would they have borne to be told, that the retention of our Colonies, or the preservation of our Conquests, was an ineffectual mode to counterbalance the aggrandizement of France, and that the cession of both was the only possible pledge of security? Would they have suffered a Minister to act upon this principle, had he fairly told them that these sacrifices were made merely to try an experiment? You are well aware, that in spite of the degradation to which this ill-governed Country is reduced by the measures of your Administration, that she would

would have crushed beneath her feet the man who had dared thus to insult her. It was your assurance, Sir, and the assurance of your Coadjutors, of the sincere disposition to Peace which you had discovered in BONAPARTE—your publicly expressed conviction of the durability of the Peace—of *its being long preserved by a system of firmness and conciliation*, that prevented an overwhelming clamour against the terms of the Treaty. —Would you, Sir, have been permitted to will away with a dash of your pen, Conquests which had been earned at the expence of the best blood of Britain, of which millions of British money had been expended in the cultivation, and from which millions in return were calculated to be drawn, had you then declared that you meant nothing more than experiment?—I have heard of a man setting fire to a temporary edifice, for the purpose of trying the experiment of extinguishing it; but I have not, I confess, in my journey through life, met with one mad enough to try the same experiment upon his own dwelling, in which were his wife, his children, his friends, domestics, and treasures; or attempt, at the risk of his whole possessions, to establish a point so doubtful in its effect, and so fatal in its failure.—Such a Philosopher must fall under the censure of being Nature's Fool, without requiring the assistance of Mr. ADDINGTON's ratiocinations.—No, Sir, if Peace was an experiment, it was an experiment  
on



on the side of BONAPARTE, who has succeeded in every part of it.—He has gained by it the experience of our imbecility—he has gained all the Conquests and Colonies made in the course of a long and successful War ; he has gained time to make new Continental acquisitions ; and he has gained the advantage (the greatest of all, as it respects the Continent of Europe), of placing Great Britain in the light of an Aggressor—convicting her of a breach of faith, and degrading her in the eye of surrounding Nations. I much fear, that the frame and nature of our Constitution will not stand the expence of many more such experiments ! Your Friend, Sir, who professes to maintain a paradox (a profession that was certainly unnecessary to any person who has read his Pamphlet), laments that we had not more Conquests, more Acquisitions—not to balance our losses, but that we *might have given them up !* This savours more of system, Sir, than any thing which, with the strictest attention, I have been able to discover in your Administration ; for the principle which leads you to think the Country better without her Colonies, may be traced in your conduct towards the Volunteers : you, no doubt, consider them a more effective force without arms in their hands, and therefore refuse to supply them with such useless weapons of defence. The Enemy is at our very gates, and our Volunteers are unarmed !—“ True,” you say, “ but they

they are Volunteers still, and the Country is to be saved by the brave Volunteers: we have publicly thanked them for their future services, and, if we think it expedient, we may give them arms at some future opportunity." This, I suspect, will be something like your *early* naval preparations; and a Volunteer without arms is no bad accompaniment to a ship without sailors!

But, Sir, how can you imagine the Country will submit to be laughed at by your hirelings, for having credited your assertions, and relied on your promises? Is the high authority of Government to become the stage of a mountebank? Is the tone, the character of diplomacy to be employed for the purposes of chicanery and deception? Why, Sir, if you really felt the Peace, a Peace of experiment, as you would have us believe, did you not wait the gradual development of its operation? Did you observe that BONAPARTE sat down fatigued and harassed, like a man after battle, throw aside his armour, lay by his sword in the scabbard, and turn his thoughts merely to the acts of Peace and to his domestic duties? Did he not, on the contrary, stalk forth, and lay his devastating hand upon the Italian Republic? Did he not pursue his system of aggrandisement pending our Negotiations with him? And yet, when the Definitive Treaty was signed, was there a moment lost in dismantling our Navy, or disbanding our Army? Did we not outstrip the

usual routine of business to put ourselves in a state to cry out to France, "There, see our disposition—see what we have done!" without once looking to BONAPARTE, or thinking to regulate our motions by his—still you assured us of the First Consul's sincerity, and the angry tumult of your soul would have crushed the daring Libellist who could even suspect the gentle, tractable, and humble-minded Despot of France.—Were the People to suppose that men entrusted with their rights, their properties, their lives and liberties, were so utterly destitute of foresight, prudence, and precaution, as to rely upon a literal profession, which is all you, Sir, could have trusted to, from the Enemy?—could they imagine that with the best means or information of what was actually going forward, the word of Government was not to be relied on?—No, Sir, the Country had been in the habit of confiding for eighteen years in the character, integrity, veracity and talents of Administration.—They have only now learnt; and that to the cost of the little popularity, as a well-meaning man, which your friends conceived you once to possess, that they have been deceived, and that they are laughed at for their credulity. They have parted with their Conquests and their Colonies, and now are told they were given up as an experiment, to purchase a phantom. They are, in short, termed drivellers and fools by those Ministers whose acts have deceived them—and termed so, because they

believed

believed what HIS MAJESTY's Confidential Servant told them, and trusted in assurances which his every public act confirmed:—Whether a People so treated are fools by Nature, or by Mr. ADDINGTON's persuasion, I leave others to decide. If they suffer themselves to be so cajoled again, they must be found guilty of the *charge* of folly, from whatever cause it may result.

I have the Honour to be, Sir,

Yours, &c.

FITZ-ALBION.

## LETTER IX.

*To the Right Hon. Henry Addington, &c. &c.*

SIR,

Oct. 29, 1803.

I NEVER knew a man officiously forward in his own defence, who did not excite suspicion, and lead the world to imagine that he was merely anticipating some meditated and well-founded attack upon his character or conduct. But when to this over-anxiety to vindicate himself, is super-added equivocation and subterfuge; when we hear him on one occasion unsaying what he has affirmed on a former, and bringing forward contradictory evidence to establish his innocence, suspicion would cease to be the sensation of the public mind, and doubt would vanish before the conviction of his guilt. That such are the unfavourable appearances that attach to your cause, from the indiscreet defence and unjustifiable zeal of yourself and family, you are by this time, no doubt, sorely sensible. The many inconsistencies which characterize the Pamphlet universally, as it is justly, attributed to the agency of Government, are but so many irrefragable proofs of its falsehood; and I trust that should the day arrive when a Defender and Advocate upon a  
more

more important service may be needed, you will learn from your late error (to give it no harsher a name), that little is to be gained by duplicity, and that an attempt to degrade high character is the last and worst mean you can employ to vindicate your own. Your friends had hoped, no doubt, that the effect of its calumny would have operated, whilst the Libel itself (so opportunely published at the rising of Parliament) would be forgotten—they thought that, like other ephemeral productions, it might afford a nine day's gossip, but that the sting only would remain by the month of November. They did not calculate upon the advantage of novelty, having in their zeal forgotten that an Official Libel was a phenomenon in the annals of British Politics. Strange therefore to say, Fame has done more for the work than its Fabricators either hoped or intended. It was imagined, no doubt, that the docility with which the People bent beneath a Power that could not command respect or attention in the various Departments of Office\*, would be as favourable to the

\* It is said that Mr. A—— having heard much of the discontents which prevailed through the whole Naval Department, and of the ill state of preparation in which we stood at a *particular period*, prevailed on himself by a week's imbibition of resolution, to encounter the First Lord, and explain the necessity of making certain changes for the good of the Public Service. The Right Hon. Gentleman, the urbanity and

the dissemination of personal calumny, as it had been tolerant towards the errors and weaknesses of

and milkiness of whose manners are known to all who have ever seen or conversed with him, proposed to himself to soften down the unwelcome proposition of Resignation, by palliations peculiarly his own. His exordium was profession. The Noble Earl, though sometimes accustomed to profess himself, waited with seeming impatience for a fair insight into the subject of this Official Visitation. Wound up at last to a pitch of unprecedented energy, the Premier spoke of "dissatisfaction—of popular opinion—of necessary sacrifices of Party to the interests of the Public—of the policy of bending to the voice of the People." When the Noble Earl, turning round with admirable gaiety, replied—"Then why do not YOU resign?" Embarrassment palsied the opposed Party—the countenance fell; it was, however, but a momentary dejection. Smiles flew to their old resting places: the Right Hon. Gentleman took his leave with cordiality—felt happy when he had reached the outer gate, and in a few weeks subsequent to this interesting interview, it would have been deemed petty treason in the Cabinet to have reflected upon any one measure of the Board of Admiralty! I remember a circumstance in the life of Lord CHATHAM, relative to a secret expedition, in 1763, which that prompt and energetic Statesmen wished to have prepared by a certain day. The Heads of Departments declared the utter impossibility of getting things ready at so short notice. The Minister sent for his Secretary, Wood, at midnight, and dispatched him to Lord ANSON, then First Lord of the Admiralty, with this laconic message:—"If Lord ANSON does not obey my orders, I will impeach him." And to Lord LIGONIER and Sir CHARLES FREDERICK the same, with the addition to the latter, that "if HIS MAJESTY's orders were not immediately obeyed, they

of Administration. But, Sir, the critical situation of the Country might induce the Public to bear an evil in silence, when the remedy was hazardous or difficult. They took their tone, as they have imbibed their spirit, from the manly politics of Mr. PITT, who was of opinion "that the functions of the Executive Power might be suspended, and the regular means of communication between the Parliament and the Throne cut off for weeks, perhaps months, by an attempt to displace one Administration and to introduce a new one." To this you may attribute the patient forbearance of the People, during the vacillating measures adopted, rejected, changed, reversed, and renewed, by your Administration; but it was not to be supposed that this acquiescence was to extend to extra-official Vices; that the character of a Statesman, to whom, his Libeller is compelled to admit, the People looked up and felt that Troy could be defended by no other arm, should be anonymously vilified by the officials of Government! That baseness, treachery, and deceit, should be made charges against a man, whose advice, even in the degraded picture drawn of him by the cloaked assassins of his fair

they were the last he should ever receive!" In spite of *impossibilities*, the thing was done, and the expedition ready to the hour. But the sway of Ministers should have nothing personal in it; the men should not be visible, forsooth, in the acts of their authority. Fiddle faddle!

name,



name, is allowed to be the best hope of the State, was too glaringly inconsistent—too base a violation of decency, as well as precedent, not to disgust every honest man, and offend those even who had hitherto given you credit for candour and good intention.

To the unbroken friendship of my Lord GRENVILLE and Mr. PITT, your Defender attributes the loss of the latter Gentleman's support of your Administration. But though you have been deprived, he says, of his personal regard, you still have received his support and approbation in every one of your measures. You are well aware, Sir, of the injustice and falsehood of this assertion—but it remains uncontradicted by you—I think I may be able to point out another and a more efficient cause for the Dissolution of that Friendship, which induced your great Predecessor to support you in spite of the early Errors of your Administration—that Friendship which led him to hope that Amendment might succeed Experience, and that by his Assistance and Advice, a more decided line of conduct might be pursued—that Friendship which rendered him deaf to the Remonstrances of those who would have drawn him from the support of a Government which seemed to threaten destruction to all who were concerned in it—that Friendship, without which, you do not hesitate to admit, you never could have accepted the gracious Offer of HIS  
MAJESTY

MAJESTY's Confidence. Power, Sir, had blinded you, not merely to the good of your Country, but to the extent of the talent and capacity of your Administration. "You felt confident you deserved well for having obtained a Peace beyond the hopes of the wisest and most sanguine of your well-wishers." If this be so, and I quote your friend's words, I can only express my admiration at the moderate hopes entertained by such intimate, interested, and well-informed Partizans. This confidence in the good opinion of the People, was quickly worked up, by the lively imagination of your friends, into popular admiration. Certain *near* Friends (you will bear me out), insinuated, that a Statesman who could thus conciliate the public mind, must not, could not, brook controul from any man. Such a Minister must no longer be, as the witlings of the Old Opposition had considered him, a Puppet; that is, you were to be above advice—though "your abilities were untried"—and spurn all proffered aid, because you had determined "to walk without the leading-string." You, Sir, lent a willing ear to these soft insinuations—the oily incense found its way to the heart, and soon penetrated to the very core. The sincerity, the good intentions which had before been considered the corner-stones of the fabric, were undermined and loosened—deceit glided in, and caution guarded every outlet.—Yes, Sir, that Friend to whom you owe  
 all

all you have of good, was told, on more occasions than one, the truth, perhaps, but not *all* the truth, nor, I am sorry to add, *nothing but the truth*. This was not a very generally known fact ; but your Friends, Sir, ever anxious to add to your increasing and self-magnifying bulk of fame, blazoned it forth as an instance of your dextrous policy ; and leaving the heart to shift for itself, endeavoured to raise a trophy, I will not say upon the weaker part, but on that part which had hitherto been considered least entitled to the honours of a triumph ! “ If,” said they, “ our Leader is capable of over-reaching his great Predecessor, we need not despair of his abilities being equal to the exigency of the times.” This was a glorious, but somewhat hasty conclusion ; for I believe it will be admitted that the dullest rogue in the whole cargo of exports for Botany Bay might pick the pocket of Mr. PITT, or steal his purse ; but, if we pursue the analogies of the two cases, I do not think that the People of Great Britain would be satisfied with the super-eminent talents, *in his own line*, of BARRINGTON himself, as the Keeper of the King’s Exchequer, or Turnkey of the Royal Treasury.

You, however, Sir, shall remain in undisturbed and unenvied possession of the honour your Friends have assigned to you. I shall not dispute the testimony of such authorities to confirm my statement, that circumstances of great importance

portance were, pending the Negotiations in Paris, withheld from the knowledge of Mr. PITT, and that the greatest man in the Empire was deceived! What, then, must have been the indignant feelings of that Statesman to find himself so unworthily treated, and that, Sir, *by you?* It was apprehended by half-conscious incapacity, that he would have disapproved—yet half-policy urged the necessity of retaining his support. This was to be secured by deception, not less mean in the promoters of it, than ruinous to the Public Cause, and the Cabinet has, in its turn, suffered no less than our devoted Country, by the adoption and devious pursuit of half measures.

Here, Sir, we find the real source of dissatisfaction towards you personally in the breast of Mr. PITT.—It was not, as implied by your Defender, the intrigues of my Lord GRENVILLE that worked the revolution in his opinion—it was the intrigues of Administration—it was the insults given to the feelings, and the imposition practised upon the partiality of your illustrious Friend, that first bade him beware of too implicit reliance upon all that was told him.—It was the development of the weak and imbecile line of conduct which had been so *secretly* and *politically* pursued, that disgusted him. He might have pardoned in the individual, what could not be overlooked when the interests and very existence of the Empire he had more than once saved,

were involved and endangered. He was, therefore, alarmed and offended, and thus far our learned Editor and myself have met at one point—"that Mr. ADDINGTON has been deprived of Mr. PITT's friendship;" but it will be long ere we meet at the second—"that every one of his measures has received his (Mr. PITT's) support and approbation."—This is the Jesuitical echo of the Treasury Bench watch-word, and the principle of men and not measures is most liberally insinuated against the Ex-Minister. But let me ask, Sir, does the line which Mr. PITT took upon Mr. PATTEN's Motion, form one of the proofs of his unvaried approbation\*, or are the Debates—and a second division upon

\* To defend Mr. PITT against the weak and laboured attacks upon this memorable occasion, would be to insult his feelings, and degrade his character.—Shall a man have need to defend a conduct, which the conscientious knowledge of his duty prompts? Forbid it Honour!—The late Minister had pledged himself to support his Successor as long as he conducted the affairs of Government upon the same broad and principled scale, which had rendered the name of Britain feared or beloved throughout the Continent of Europe.—This line for a short period was pursued. Then sprung up a new and childish policy; or, rather, no policy—an unsystematic deviation from all acknowledged principles of Government, which alarmed him.—For a time, he trusted to its being a temporary aberration from right, and looked to new measures as the result of better counsel.—He saw, however, the rank apostacy adhered to as tenaciously as the total lack of consistency.

upon the Property Tax, to be considered as illustrative of his uniform support of all your measures? Conscious how truly it had been merited, your friends no doubt expected his decided and thwarting opposition to all your propositions, and looked to their own annihilation from the angry breath of his nostrils.—With this impression upon their minds, it was perhaps natural that they should construe his forbearance into support, and his silence, upon the ground of an old proverb, into approbation;—but, Sir, his conduct referred not to you nor to your Administration—He felt that difficulties might arise in a change of Ministers, and determined to

ency in the Ministerial Phalanx could permit.—His duty was clear—he did not attempt to harass the Government in the hour of difficulty and embarrassment—but he disapproved the line they were pursuing, and did not disguise the feelings to which the imbecility and rashness of these men gave birth. When, therefore, the great question of general Impeachment was brought forward, what part, as a Statesman and as a Man of Honour, could he possibly take, except the one which he manfully adopted?—He could not condemn *in toto*, because he had approved *in part*.—He could not, contrary to every feeling of conscientious rectitude, solemnly vote unqualified approbation, because he had perceived serious cause for disapproval of the conduct of the men in power. He waved the question, not less from a desire to avoid any specific pledge on the part of the House, than from a feeling of the critical and awful circumstances in which the Country had been so criminally involved.

watch,

watch, with the feelings of a conscientious guardian, the Constitution which he perceived to be in danger, and to avert, by every means his great mind could suggest, the storm which threatened the Country from without.—It will not be amiss, however, to inquire of your Defender, how he or yourself can reconcile this avowal of Mr. PITT's constant support and approbation of all your measures, with the principle of the Pamphlet, if any principle can be considered as predominant in it, which goes to censure and stigmatize that Gentleman and his friends for having *promised*, but having *discontinued* their support?—I take no advantage of an isolated sentence—It is an open and decided assertion, not that Mr. PITT did at one time support and approve, but that he has supported and approved every measure of Mr. ADDINGTON's Administration. I do not assume too much, surely, when I infer, that the whole bent and purport of the Treasury Pamphlet is to prove that Mr. PITT is condemnable for having withdrawn his approbation; that he did promise support, but that he on the contrary arraigned or impeded your measures; and yet you now make your Advocate declare that he has supported and approved your whole Political Conduct—So much for Consistency. Let us proceed, however, from this declaration of Mr. PITT's uniform support and approbation, a few pages further, where we shall not only find a very explicit self-contradiction

tion of it, but a new, most extraordinary, and equally self-contradictory charge against the late Minister—"The Parliamentary Conduct (observes our Editor), of Mr. PITT appears decidedly hostile, and calculated in a particular manner to embarrass the Administration of the Finances!" A charge more wilfully base, or more palpably false, was, I verily believe, never made in the face of day.—Did Mr. V—— insist upon the insertion of this paragraph, or was it found by yourself, Sir, in spite of that *able* Financier's pre-instructions, so very embarrassing to answer a few necessary, and, to the Country, important questions upon this subject, that you think it fair to stigmatize a man who presumes to put them to the Minister, as a hostile and disaffected character?—Sir, it would have been wiser to have published a separate Pamphlet for each department of Administration, than to suffer each to subscribe its grievances, expose its soreness, register its errors, and record its rancour, in direct contradiction to the assertions of each other, and in counteraction of the very intention which each very naturally took for the basis of its Representations, viz. Public pity for themselves, and public execration against the *cruel men* who could differ in opinion so harshly with new beginners, and who were unwilling that the Country should be lost whilst young Gentlemen were serving an apprenticeship!—Something like system might have



have been then preserved; but system, I am aware, is not the order of the day, nor, till you have suffered, in your own person, further similar mischances, will you begin to perceive that something more is necessary towards the Government of a great Empire, than an oscillatory policy, which, like the regimen of a hypochondriac, must vary with every change of weather, give way to every gust of fancy, and tend to no permanent advantage.

I have the Honour to be, Sir,

Yours, &c.

FITZ-ALBION.

## LETTER X.

*To the Right Hon. Henry Addington, &c. &c.*

SIR,

Oct. 29, 1803.

IT is not possible seriously to meet the charge, from any quarter, of Mr. PITT's "hostile intention of embarrassing the Administration of the Finances."—If the present Financial Arrangements, *as they now appear*, are of that Gentleman's suggestion, I must admit, be his intention what it might, he could not have more effectually carried his point. If his purpose had been to embarrass the Administration of the Finances, or to prove himself hostile towards the Minister, he could not, under those circumstances, have displayed more skill than he has done in producing, under that Minister's name, a measure of Finance which, having gone through both Houses of Parliament, has passed into a Law—which not a Commissioner knows how to carry into effect—nor (in spite of demi-official Pamphlets, Abstracts and Explanations, which serve at best to make the darkness visible) an individual in the Community how to decypher or render intelligible—a measure, in short, which must be revised and new-modelled before it can  
 o be

be executed. Now, Sir, you will, perhaps, be surprized, and suppose me some faithful Achates of your Party, wrapped merely up in the disguise of a New Oppositionist, when I solemnly declare that I do think your former Friend and Predecessor in Office, was the actual cause of the unintelligibility and impracticability of the present *Property Bill*, as it must be called.—“*Victoria!*” cries your Editor—“*Victoria,*” resounds through the vaulted roofs of the Treasury *Sanctum*.—“ This is what we all have urged, but no one was found to believe us. You concede this.”—Truly, Gentlemen, I do—but I fear you will not approve my premises, although there appears a degree of harmony in our conclusions. I understand that it was the avowed intention and determination of Ministry to form the present *Bill on Property*, in direct opposition and contra-distinction to the *Income Tax*—to define the line of the latter, to the best of their capacity, for the precise purpose of contrasting it in all its bearings. Well have they succeeded in rendering obscure and unintelligible even to themselves, that which was clear and open to the meanest comprehension, and of disfiguring a finished Performance to make it pass for their own\*.

Thus,

\* Yet, strange to say, the natural and invincible antipathy to system, which characterizes our present Ministers, has

Thus, Sir, I am willing to admit that Mr. PITT was the first, though innocent cause of your present dilemma.—Nay, so humbled in your eyes appear to be the once highly-rated talents and opinions of your illustrious Predecessor, that we are told the ultimate success of his attempt to maintain unimpeached, the credit of the Country, in the Debate respecting the immediate Tax upon the Funds, was attributable to the “weight of his authority” merely, and not to the “depth of his arguments,” (a curious admission upon the part of Government!) Now had this Umpire of the respective merits of Mr. PITT, Sir, and yourself, attended somewhat more minutely to the subject, he would in candour have acknowledged, that the converse was the fact. Mr. PITT opposed the measure of taxing the Funds, upon a principle, and by

has led them into innumerable instances of the most childish and absurd inconsistency, in the prosecution of this favorite measure—and the Public Interpreter, in his *First Part* of the Exposition of the Act (occupying *only* sixty-six close printed octavo pages) speaking of two General Heads, affecting a great Class of the People, observes, “The manner of effecting this part of the Measure is *somewhat intricate*, and *not entirely* adapted to the General Plan of the Tax.” Government, we hope, purpose defraying the Expences of this Public Instruction. The People are willing and ready to throw in their Contributions to the Treasury of the State, but it would be very hard to be compelled to go to School and pay for Lessons to instruct them in what that Contribution should consist,

*arguments* which were convincing and incontrovertible. It was *your authority*, Sir, that carried the question by a majority of 150, against Mr. PITT's division of 50. It was the weight of that able Statesman's *arguments* that carried his negatived question *unanimously* the very next day. That which as a Minister, you were able to support by a majority of 3 to 1 on Wednesday, you exposed your Friends and Supporters, by reversing on the Thursday; and after having on the former occasion combated every point with something more than sarcastic acrimony, you on the latter made the *amende honorable*, by eating your words, and rendering null and void a vote proposed by yourself four and twenty hours before, and passed by a majority of the Imperial Parliament!

So much for the charge against Mr. PITT's determination to embarrass the Finances of the Country, and so much for the consistency of the Libel, which almost in the same breath asserts that it was to his authority, and not to his arguments (page 66) he was indebted for the adoption of his proposition—and (page 68) that his (Mr. PITT's) Financial skill, his commanding eloquence, and his still (modest) great influence in the Country, would be a tower of strength to HIS MAJESTY's Government!

But the ingenuity of your Editor has discovered a property in the texture of our Ex-minister's mind, and of its relative powers, which must  
 prove

prove to you a treasure endless and inexhaustible. He is at first described as a being of a superior order—the sublimity of whose soul, the depth of whose information, and the blaze of whose commanding eloquence, have exalted, refined, and enlightened mankind!—But, strange to relate, all these endowments are temporary—merely co-existent with office—they are, as it were, but the lining of a black silk gown, which, like the carpet of Prince Houssain, can bear him to every Court in the Universe, and instruct him in the *Arcana* of every Cabinet in Europe, but which, once thrown by, loses all its virtues. Thus, after eighteen years of self-delusion, the cloud is dissipated, and the humble WILLIAM PITT, in rashly giving up this Panoply of State, whose communicating influence had so long rendered him dreaded by the few who did not love him, is now discovered to be a *harmless, stingless, inoffensive* animal, no longer to be feared by the *blindest of his kind*. His habits, his tones, his gestures, are all official, and tacked to the cloak of the Chancellorship of the King's Exchequer! The prize is yours, Sir, lose none of its advantages—reap them as your Predecessor has done; and, *I need not add*, beware of the consequences of letting go your hold!

Is this then the suggestion of some babbling Court Thersites, and is the comment which follows, the wholesome reprimand of some more prudent

dent Counsellor? Could the confusion of ideas which has so frequently betrayed this Public Defamer into inconsistencies, lead him to pronounce a deliberate censure on his own intemperate observations? "The first offering upon the altars of our Country should be Private Rivalries and Party Hatred!" Indeed! upon what *principle*, let me ask, has this most *principled* Publication been ushered into public notice? As a sacrifice no doubt of "your *interested, unjust, and ambitious passions!*" They are, then, departed Spirits; and now you will hear the dispassionate counsel of a man, who cannot in his Country's cause feel lukewarm. I know what I owe to the Constitution, and the blessings which our Forefathers derived and handed down to us from the gradual expansion of its excellence. I see it environed by dangers of various hue—I am told I cannot be your friend and flatterer too—I shall not attempt it; nor can I deny that the Administration at the head of which you, Sir, are placed, are far from possessing, in my opinion, or in the judgment of any unbiassed man in the Empire or in Europe, those resources within yourselves, that talent, vigour or judgment, the genius or elevation of sentiment sufficient to meet the most awful and doubtful crisis of our History.—You cannot, will not be offended at this sentiment, since you yourself have not only acknowledged, but acted upon it,

it, and still are acting upon it\*.—Every day brings us nearer to our fate, be it marked by a black or white stone—Every hour brings forth some fresh instance of deficiency in those who are set up and appointed to encounter it.—Whence, let me ask, has arisen this new over-confidence?—Has any great or important point been carried;—or do your spirits rally as the danger approaches? *Leuius solet timere qui proprius timet.*—Is it that you have thrown the die, and are determined to

\* It is reported, and I repeat it with a perfect confidence in the fact, that Mr. ADDINGTON is at this time endeavouring to negotiate a Coalition with the Old Opposition, and with Mr. Fox in particular.—How can this be reconciled with the isolated attack upon that Gentleman by our Treasury Broadswordsmen?—He says, that “he is not aware of more than one case, in which Mr. Fox and his Minority could be considered as a possible Administration; and that is, the success of the Invasion, or some other great disaster, which should lay us at the foot of France.” Pray Heaven there be nothing prophetic! We may thank our Stars, that as yet we are not at the foot of France—but the terrible dilemma to which the weak and imbecile conduct (for I must still insist upon the applicability of these epithets, in spite of the Treasury Editor) of Ministers, have reduced us, requires all the nerves of an ADDINGTON to view our state with indifference. That we are open to disaster under the influence of such Councils, I feel assured—and *this* is the very moment, that the same men court Mr. Fox into Administration, who so lately told him “he never could be a Minister to a British King!”—What strange conclusions might we not draw, had we any faith in the prognostics of old women.

abide



abide the hazard of it, without reflecting how many millions of people are involved in the effects of your rash temerity? Whence is this open contempt of public opinion, and this defiance to all talent?—Is it the acquisition of Mr. TIERNEY as Treasurer of the Navy, or the promise to Mr. SHERIDAN of a Presidency or a Secretaryship? Whatever may be the cause, the effects are to be deprecated by every true friend to his Country.—Beware, Sir, you build not upon a sandy basis—lest in avoiding the phantom of a SCYLLA, you fall headlong into a substantial CHARYBDIS—A Tory who throws himself into the power of the Whigs, will not find a resource in his own weakness—Pity is the last sensation such apostacy will excite among those whose cabals and machinations have so long been baffled by the principles which you are about to abandon.—Is it possible that I should be addressing myself to Mr. ADDINGTON, whom I remember, so short a time since, the respectable and respected Friend of Mr. PITT!—I proffer the humble advice of an individual to such a man, to avoid the consummation of a Coalition already begun, from which the political profligacy of France would turn with abhorrence, and which every Briton must look upon as the death-blow to Political Honesty, and the signal of destruction to the Constitution of our Forefathers.

Save yourself ere it be too late : seek those  
genial

genial shade where the duties of a parent and a husband may conciliate the regards of private life. You cannot be so paralyzed by the poison of flattery, as to credit the disguised underminer of your honour and your reputation, when he tells you, that you are *able, vigorous, and fortunate!* Know you not,

Let Ministers be what they will,  
You find their levees always fill;  
Ev'n those who have perplex'd a state,  
Whose actions claim contempt or hate.

Think, Sir, that though you cannot by your councils avert the storm which hangs over us, you possess the negative consolation of knowing, that it is in your power to retrieve our errors by withdrawing the fatal cause that induced them, Banish the adulatory deception of dependants—listen to the words of sincerity—correct and compose your mind, and be—any thing but what you are.

Pow'r by the breath of Flattery nurs'd,  
The more it swells, is nearer burst;  
The bubble breaks, the gew-gaw ends,  
And in a dirty tear descends.

I have the Honour to be, Sir,

Yours, &c.

FITZ-ALBION.

## LETTER XI.

*To the Right Hon. Henry Addington, &c. &c.*

SIR,

Nov. 9, 1803.

WE are told that the PITT and GREN-  
VILLE Party, "like the Claudian Family in  
Rome, do not coalesce and assimilate with the  
Genius and Temper of the Country."—The ab-  
surdity of the allusion I leave the young Clerk *young*  
of the Pells at Winchester to expose, whilst I  
undertake the more grateful office of extracting  
some of that oily incense which your Friend,  
who cannot be your flatterer, has here poured  
out with so profuse a hand.—"The present Mi-  
nisters, he thinks, have this advantage, this hap-  
piness over them (the late Ministers), that they  
fall in with the character of the Nation," (it was  
surely unnecessary to add insult to injury.) "I  
distinguish nothing personal in their sway—the  
men are not visible in the acts of their authority  
—they seem to be the servants, not the masters  
of the Public; the Nation governs itself more  
under them, and for them." I have more than  
once hinted a suspicion, that this friendly Editor  
was a Censurer in disguise—not that I consider  
what I have just quoted as *praise undeserved*.—If  
it

it be considered as praise by you—hear it repeated by me, and enjoy it. You will be unenvied in the possession of such a character by any man capable of conducting, as they should be, the affairs of a great Empire.—As it is, however, assigned to you by those who ought to be the best informed upon the point, it claims some little animadversion on the part of the Public.—In the first place, let us inquire whence this aptitude to the public mind has arisen—and how it has evinced itself in contra-distinction to the unassimilating and uncoalescing qualities of the late Ministers. I have never heard, Sir, of any School of Politics in which you studied, except that to which you are now opposed. You were, as I have always understood, a suckling of that Party; and that you took all your degrees thence, I am pretty certain. Your Creed, it was supposed, was extracted from the Manual of your early Friend; and the Doctor, it has been said, tore a leaf out of the great CHATHAM'S book for you. But, alas! I speak of old times—out upon it—the Doctor and his Lordship both seem forgotten now-a-days. The latter I conclude is assigned over to the Britannic appendages of the CLAUDIAN Family—It is only, therefore, since you have thrown by your leading-strings, that you are become this idol congenial to British hearts.—Every effect, we are taught to believe, must have a cause, and experience has so frequently

quently led us to credit the doctrine, that I have ventured to trace this curious and rapid revolution to its origin.—When it was resolved at a certain Cabinet Council to which I have already referred, that you were *to be a child no longer*—when the Elders of the State assembled together, with the eyes and feelings of the Nation bent upon the result of their deliberations, and they, good souls! having merely negatived your proposition, that they should resign their places, decreed that you were no longer to be *led*, you felt that even thus supported you had not the full use of your members:—your Friends had therefore recourse to the *Cunning Woman* over the way—She flattered you—she nursed you—caught you when you stumbled—frightened away the wicked people that would have worried you; till at length you felt that you could not do without her; and so became, in the language of the nursery, her pet and play-thing.—Habits beget congeniality, and the Old Opposition, who, upon the principle laid down by your Defender, are entitled to the first eulogium, imparted some of those popular notions which were to render you the idol of the People, as the Head of the Party had so long been termed, and considered the *Vox Populi*.—You could not even here, however, take a decided line—Here, where your most essential interests were concerned, not on a national or *secondary* consideration, but on your own private and individual welfare.

fare. "The Minister," in the words of your Panegyrist, "as usual took the middle course."—So that whilst one party reprobates an apostacy more flagrant than the blushing record of former times conveys to us—the other contemns you for not opening your arms unhesitatingly to it.—That this is your ultimate purpose I have no doubt, but between two stools (I mean no invidious allusion to that part of our late Minister by which your new Ally some time since designated you), we have long been taught to think *a man* may fall to the ground.—You must do things at leisure—you are not rapid in your movements—that was the vice of your Predecessor—*Bis dat qui cito*, is become an old woman's song, and *Venienti occurrere morbo* a mere school-boy's saying\*. Thus, Sir, having accounted for this popularity,

\* "It is true, Mr. PITT and the GRENVILLES think a great deal more might have been done, and a great deal quicker, but this is the characteristic failing of the Family.—For Effect and Greatness all must have been voted at once, the operation of each impeded by the others," &c. (*Cursory Remarks*, page 81.)

I have known certain very good sort of middling Men, who could not play at Whist or Quadrille if a person stood behind them, or held a conversation in their hearing; and I have also known PHILLIDOR sit, surrounded by a crowd, and play four distinct games of Chess at the same time.

Non omnia, &c.

The first description of men pass quietly through Society, partly

pularity, this falling in with the character of the Nation, which you are led to believe you have acquired, it will be an amusing, and by no means an unapt speculation now, to collect together the general principles of your Eulogist, and define the requisites and characteristics of a popular Minister—It will not be offensive to you, Sir—it is merely a *Spectrum*.—A Minister, upon the system of that Gentleman, should be of gentle and imposing manners—urbane to all, and ever smiling, like Patience, though grief or indignation be rankling in his heart—He must ever profess good intentions, though his actions appear in the face of day to be impelled by the worst passions of our nature—He should look upon the retention of his place as the first and foremost object ; the remuneration of his family and relatives as the second, and the good of the Country, if it come in his way, by the commands of the Majesty of the People, may be taken leisurely into contemplation—He should be open to all Parties, and in-

partly from being overlooked, and partly from the urbane tolerance of a limited circle of Friends ; but if an individual of this stamp were to start up and call Mons. PHILLIDOR a coxcomb and pretender, because he not only attempted to play, not only hoped to get the better of his adversary, but absolutely did, at every table, *Check-Mate* him, I am very much inclined to think that the good sort of Gentleman would be despised by the world for his arrogant absurdity, and scouted even by his own associates as a Driveller and Nincompoop.

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fluenced by them alternately—he should just possess art enough to impose upon his early Friends till his seat is secured, and just effrontery sufficient to turn his back upon *officious* Patrons, when he thinks he has no further need of them. If an error occur, or even a blunder, which will be the case sometimes, let him convert it into principle—and when by delay or want of energy, the Country is reduced to any serious dilemma, he must manfully avow, that he acts in direct opposition to the intemperate haste of Predecessors. Should he perceive any lurking embers of a revolutionary spirit, let him not risk to burn his fingers upon speculation—they may never break forth; and if they do, it will be the dictate of the People, and he must recollect that the Minister is no longer the Servant of the Crown, but the Servant of the People—the black and gilded livery Lacquey to the Imperial Multitude\*.—He is to suffer the People to identify themselves with him, and to permit those germs of equality which filled the galleries of the Convention to spread through our Legislative discussions†. This will secure him friends

\* “ They seem to be the servants, not the masters of the People—the Nation governs itself, &c. p. 80.

† How lamentably tempting must it sound in the ears of the staunch body of revolutionists who, in 1795 and 1796, had rallied round them such a phalanx of oppressed talent and political enthusiasm, that Ministers now-a-days are not of



friends among his masters, and should they be inclined to march to St. James's or to Buckingham-

ham—so bloody-minded, hard-hearted a nature as these with whom they had at that period to cope. The Sovereign People would then have demanded and made their own laws, and men *unlike* the PITTS and GRENVILLES, who “misunderstood the character, the temper, and the spirit” of the Public, might have reigned in the hearts of every affiliated society. Fraternal love would have disorganised all system. First principles would have resumed their power, and the people literally have “*identified themselves with the Government.*” We are told in an enlightening publication of that period, styled “A Summary of the Duties of Citizenship,” &c. that there is no hope that the Magistrates will become plain, simple interpreters and executors of the law. “Where,” cries this Orator of the Corresponding Society, “shall we find this heroic being, this sublime mortal? Not in this island I fear. You demand an equal representation; this, *if granted*, would make the democracy of legislation too numerous for corruption, and the people would have *a house full of friends!*” Shall it be said that these good and pious citizens have lost their opportunity. No; although the mischievous operation of PITT and GRENVILLE’s Suspension of the Habeas Corpus, and their Restrictive Bills, which these oppressed and suspected Patriots acknowledge were the only barriers against, and impediments to the success of their exertions in the cause of Citizenship, might then offend them—the halcyon days which they would not even permit themselves to anticipate, now begin to dawn, and “one of the first acts” of our present Ministers, “was to restore the Habeas Corpus Act, and to repeal the Bills against Sedition,” crying out with a loud voice—“Miserable Englishmen, how long have ye groaned under the persecution of tyrants, who despised your liberties and wantoned in the violation of the Rights of Man!”

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ham-house, a dignified mien and imposing manner will soon enable him to find his level, and to give any direction to those feelings or passions most consonant to his views of ambition or aggrandizement. I am neither thinking of the Devil, or going to him on horseback, whilst I select this last idea from the Book of Books—indeed, I trust, that no explanation is necessary.—Let him, to further these good intentions, take up the principle of a Noble Baronet, and annul all the restrictive Laws that have been passed during the reign of our beloved King.—This might be considered as a strong measure—I think it would be the reverse; for, I agree with our Editor, that he should carefully avoid every thing in the shape of a strong measure: Revolutions involve their promoters in the first ruin; Reformers rise into Revolutionists, and reap the fruit of others labour. All this must be attended to, however, with one reserve, that whatever the People call for, he must grant, however unreasonable, or even unjustifiable; for, before whom is he to justify himself, but to his worthy and approved

Which being interpreted, may be found in plain English, page 90 of the Ministerial Manifesto. *Good intentions* are estimable! What a pity it is they should so often fail. I may lend my friend a great coat, and place an umbrella over his head on a wet day, but it does not follow as a consequence, that it will be necessary or expedient to continue the use of them when the atmosphere is unclouded,

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good masters, the Mobility? By these means, if the Country should be ruined, it will be ruined by acclamation of its own Citizens; if they choose to commit an act of suicide, it is no business of the Minister's; "for the Nation governs itself." —Private friendship should not be extended beyond the walls of the Treasury, and public service must be pleaded in extenuation of any breach of gratitude, or, indeed, any other flagrant act of apparent turpitude. Let him carefully avert all strictures upon men—measures only should be made objects of discussion; for, so long as the Public leave the men alone, so long will the men care little about the measures; and, whilst the Nation is playing the game with heavy odds against her, the villas may throng with congenial souls, and mirth, and song and revelry, hold their festive orgies, with Secretaries of State, and Piebald Treasurers for their High Priests. This liberal system, however, would be ruinous if extended to an opposing party. Men must then be made the peculiar objects of animadversion; and though the tottering fabric of the State should require the only prop that could sustain it, that prop, if it be a man who has once opposed the Minister, or combated his measures, he is "to consider himself compelled by honour not to admit into Council with him!"—The Country will, no doubt, be gratified by being told, that such a Minister falls in with their own character.

rafter. If he would court the favour of the Public, he must profess to bear his honours as a burthen packed upon him for their good, and *even though he should have had the reversion of his Predecessor's Office in his Porte Feuille long ago*, express his surprize at so unexpected an elevation\*!—As the monied interest has too long maintained a preponderance in this Commercial Country, and as BONAPARTE has yclep'd us a nation of Shopkeepers, let him despise their remonstrances, and, like the man in the Play, D——n the City! Except indeed when money is necessary, as it sometimes of course will be to grease the wheels of the State—then it will be expedient to squeeze and press these fat and greasy Citizens, and if they hold back, it will be but fair to practise any little *Ruse de Guerre* upon them—It is for the good, if not to the credit of the Country, and it may be easily contrived to insinuate the prospect of *good news*, even though in his pocket at the time, the Minister may have *the account of the capture of one of our most important possessions*.—Delay and procrastination should

\* When I make this allusion, I feel inclined to hope that some Official Contradiction may be given to it. But I fear it will be *impossible* to blot out a Fact which, taking into consideration the relative Circumstances and Connexions of the Right Hon. Gentleman, stands without a rival on record!—*Hec Prisca Fides!*

be darling doctrines\*. If an Enemy do not avail himself of our want of preparation, the Minister

\* Had the preparations on the Coasts of France and Holland really been of so serious a nature as they were officially reported to be, I fancy there will be very little doubt entertained, that BONAPARTE would have long ere this tried the experiment of Invasion.—It was nearly four months before Ministers took any measures worthy notice for the defence of the Country.—We have, in fact, been at War nearly eight months; and not a day passes at this period, that does not bring forward some proof of the tardy conviction of Government upon most essential points—and of their being absolutely driven to their duty from the dread and apprehension of Impeachment.—If, therefore, we are still in a state of confusion, and find it even now necessary to add to our means of meeting the attack, it is clear that we are not in the best possible attitude of defence; and it is more than presumptive proof, that had the Enemy attempted Invasion a few months back, his success, at least for a time, would have been more than doubtful.—Ministers will say, but we knew he was not prepared. Indeed! your information must be very correct, when you can only calculate the force of the Enemy at one point, so late as last week, by sending a General Officer to reconnoitre in a man of war, to ascertain the number of tents, and thereby judge the effective force of the Enemy. But, shall I give credit to such confident assurances, when I find a conspiracy break out in the seat of our own Government, without the Ministry having obtained the smallest knowledge of its existence? “True,” say they again, “but Ireland is not gone!” *That’s not your fault, retorts Common Sense*, for you did your best towards it.—It certainly is not yet gone; and, as for the massacre of a venerable Peer, and some half dozen silly people, who were officiously

Minister may talk loudly of husbanding our resources; and if he do, and any untoward consequences

officially at hand *without ammunition*, it cannot be weighed in a cause of so great importance. Ireland was certainly saved; not, however, by the information of the Viceroy or his Council—not by Ministers at home—but—by Whiskey! Do I not know, that BONAPARTE with his immense resources, added to a power unlimited, and an ever-waking ambition, has never for a moment relaxed in his preparations for attack.

Whether it be from the spirit or oppression of the People, is a matter of no importance for us to inquire—the activity and zeal of the French, in forwarding and promoting the enterprize destined for the invasion of this Country, were never exceeded.—When I behold these things, and am aware that his plans were in forwardness before ours were conceived or thought of; and that, after something like preparations began to be whispered, or, in the language of Ministers, when the People began to call out for measures of safety and precaution, which the *Servants of the People* profess, they had neither talents or vigour to bring forward of themselves—they were conducted, evidently, as they were professedly, upon a principle of cold and tardy economy. When I hear the Municipality and Bench of Judicature in Scotland complain to their fellow-citizens of the misconduct of Government, and of the dangerous and exposed state in which they are left open to the assaults of the Enemy—when they report to them the insulting taunt they had received on their application to the Admiralty—and when the Lords Lieutenants of different Counties state the gross insults that the Volunteers who had stood forward in the cause of their exposed Country, have experienced at the hands of Government—I blush to think how my Country is exposed, and that at a moment

sequences result, it is easy, and not unprecedented, to bandy about the blame from one department to another ;

a moment when her peculiar situation renders her more conspicuous, and the proud height of towering character which she so lately possessed, heightens the contrast, and sinks us low in the estimation of surrounding nations. What are we to think of our state of preparation, when we read at this late date, that arms are at length *to be* distributed in *certain* Maritime Districts, and that redoubts are *beginning* to be thrown up in such and such a place, as *absolutely necessary* to guard an essential point, when I myself could name twenty vulnerable points, and points most likely to be attacked, but whose turn may not arrive these two years. When I see plans adopted for a time, merely to be rejected afterwards, and hear, amidst all this, that such distraction prevails in the Cabinet, independently of the weakness which characterizes it, that different Members have *threatened* individually to explain in a *certain high quarter*, the utter impossibility of transacting the ordinary routine of business without the accession of *fresh* talent ; when I conclude, from a contemplation of this black and dreary catalogue, that our fall and subjugation *might* have been effected, had the Enemy dared the attempt earlier, I cannot but condemn Ministers who still brave public opinion, and endanger the Constitution, nay the existence of the Empire, free and independent, as criminal nearly to the excess of treason. Men of ambitious or intriguing minds have at different periods of history sought the subjugation of their fellow-citizens, or aspired to the usurpation of a throne ; but it was left for our time to trust ourselves to those who, without motive beyond the enjoyment of office, acknowledge their incapacity, whilst they are bold enough to take the helm in a tempest, and do not hesitate to risk

another; and if the leading heads are inexperienced it is not their fault, and the People must be satisfied with so sufficient an answer.—If they will have new brooms, they must know that they are intended to sweep clean.—Reform and removal are essential to popularity, and for the provision of Friends—When he wishes to gain time, he must cancel to-day the business of yesterday; and although he *may not* be endued with the counsel of ULYSSES, he may at least take a lesson upon the web of the chaste PENELOPE.—Indecision should be another characteristic—for the People will have no opportunity to speculate—or if they attempt, it will be very easy to prove that they started upon false *data*.—Though the Minister should not confine the talents of a Courtier to the precincts of St. James's, but extend them equally to the antithetic haunts of broad St. Giles's, yet, it is not necessary that he should altogether fashion his conduct to his professions. If one of his Colleagues in Office should happen to be offensive to the Sovereign People, or injurious to the general operations of the Government, he should try gently to dispose of him—but if he is a hard-hearted, refractory sort of character and *won't go*, why, it will be advisable to ex-

risk the greatest blessing yet bestowed on man, in schemes which they avow depend upon the caprices of Chance, and in measures which are ever to be regarded as experiments.

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tol him to the skies for wisdom, *even* though the fundamental principle of his conduct is hostile to every measure of the Minister. Any sacrifice should be made to maintain a due appearance of co-operation in the different Departments of the State—He must be by turns conciliating and imperious, dogmatical and pliant, tenacious and temporizing; but, above all, he must avoid System\*.—Time-serving, in the new Code of Politics, is a Virtue; and it must be remembered, that there are always two modes of performing the same duty—and so that it is done, it would be very impertinent in the Public to discuss the mode. He must feel no scruple in maintaining tenets at one time, which he may more fully oppose at another†. The burthens should be so laid upon the Subject, as to preclude the possibility of their being comprehended, and in the revision, the Public Service may very naturally be supposed to require their being doubled. He must understand to garble facts, and to assist Justice by opening one of her eyes—Should he pos-

\* Vide Correspondence on the Paris Negotiation.

† When I recollect the tone and manners in which Ministers affected to look down upon the ceded Colonies pending the discussions on the Peace, I cannot but smile to see the re-capture of a few (without a struggle or attempt at defence in some) made the leading and most prominent Paragraph of the Speech from the Throne, which Ministers themselves put into the mouth of HIS MAJESTY.

sess the elucidation of any circumstance mysterious to the world, and injurious to an individual—if that individual be an adversary, let him not hesitate to suppress the information which he has acquired \*.

If he have the good fortune to be unconnected with the Aristocracy of the Country, let him omit no opportunity of insulting and degrading them.—The dawn of Reason appeared, just as the Sun of Peace was rescued from its everlasting grave; and the Rights of Man are rising, after a new birth, to the zenith of their glory. These, Sir, are the principal outlines I have been able to glean from the Manifesto of a truly great and popular Minister, and one who identifies himself with the People. I have no comments to make upon it. This terrible Shade is, to me, what the ardour of the Volunteers was to you—with this sole difference, that I myself have raised the one—whilst the most sanguine of your friends and well-wishers will not give you the same credit as to the other. It is in the effect I trace the resemblance; as by some secret spell or charm, we are in the presence

\* I have been informed, and that upon authority I do not choose to doubt, that my Lord GRENVILLE *did write* to the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, upon the publication of the Preliminaries, expressly stating the very strong and invincible objections which he entertained against the Terms, and declaring the impossibility of his conscientiously supporting such a Treaty!

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of (I cannot call it a *Genius*) a Monster, whose form it is alarming to contemplate, and who should be kept *unarmed* to prevent its being *mischievous*.

I have the Honour to be, Sir,

Yours, &c.

FITZ-ALBION.

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*Note omitted at Page 84.*

The "*Cursory Remarks*" were not only circulated by the Treasury at home, but several copies were also transmitted by couriers to our Foreign Ministers abroad. When Mr. ADDINGTON was told that this Publication had given offence, he observed, shaking his head, and putting on his most solemn countenance, that he thought it contained many things *highly improper*—he added, Good Man! that he had no idea who the Author was.—He might have been informed by inquiring at the Treasury, that the Author had been in his pay ever since he had held the office of First Minister, and that he had thought the most acceptable service he could render his employers, in return for his wages, was that of pouring forth daily abuse upon Mr. PITT, which he regularly did in the Morning Newspaper most devoted to Mr. ADDINGTON.

## LETTER XII.

*To the Right Hon. Henry Addington, &c. &c.*

SIR,

Nov. 12, 1803.

FOR the last time, I resume the subject of the *Near Observer's* Libel. In my last, I endeavoured to form a complete Minister upon the Treasury Model of the Day. I will now take the liberty to contrast that with a picture of other times. It will evince a strange revolutionary propensity in human nature. That which our Fathers adored and hailed as a Palladium, we, their most wise sons, have scouted and contemned. In this contrast you will perceive, that great men *have been* apparent in the acts of their authority; that they had something *occasionally personal* in their sway, and led the Country, *in spite of those drawbacks*, to the proudest height of National Glory and National Prosperity.

" All that deserves to arrest the attention in taking a general survey of the age in which he lived, is comprised in the history of CHATHAM. Unresembled, and himself, he was not born to accommodate to the genius of the age: whilst all around him were depressed by the uniformity

of fashion, or the contagion of venality, he stood aloof. He consulted no judgment but his own, and he acted from the untainted dictates of a comprehensive soul. The native royalty of his mind is eminently conspicuous. He felt himself born to command, and the Free Sons of Britain implicitly obeyed him. In him was realized the Fable of Orpheus. His genius, his spirit, his eloquence, led millions in his train, subdued the rugged savage, and disarmed the fangs of Malignity and Envy. But the features which most eminently characterized him, were Spirit and Intrepidity; they are conspicuous in every turn, in every trait of his life; nor did this Spirit and Intrepidity leave him even in the last\*,"

Here,

\* It has been objected, that such a comparison with one of the greatest Statesmen the country ever boasted, is not altogether fair. I should be the first to concede this, were the Minister of the day selected from the most prominent and acknowledged ability of the country. If he stood foremost among the Competitors for public approbation, and received the universal suffrage for superior qualifications, the failure of his schemes, or weakness of his measures, would be a misfortune; but having employed our best means, it were barbarous to add reproach to an evil as irremediable as it would be galling. If, however, we possess talents at this hour which will sink in no comparison with past times, and still suffer under the pressure of an Administration, whose only characteristic is the exclusion of all the political ability of the Empire; if men unfitted for the station usurp the  
seat

Here, Sir, is a pair of Portraits—You *may* compare them—I cannot !

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seat of imperial wisdom, and place themselves on an elevation which has hitherto been considered sacred to the leading skill and patriotism of the day, what degradation can be too great, what humiliation so effectual, as the glaring contrast between what is, and what ought to, or might, be ?

I really am heartily tired of the affectation of candour with which the *Well-Wishers* of Administration would inoculate the Public—" You should consider, they came in under disadvantages ; they are inexperienced ; they will improve"—In the name of common sense, why am I to buy a Foal of doubtful qualities, or worse, with hereditary defect, when I have a high-mettled thorough-bred Horse in my stable ? Upon what principle am I called upon to make allowance for weakness and inexperience, when I have the opposed qualifications within my reach ? Why, in short, am I to trust myself to Sea with a Land-Lubber, when I have my choice of a Deal-Pilot ?

In periods even of peace and security, I should imagine very little hesitation could arise in the minds of men, as to the subject of Election ; but when the times wear a complexion which almost baffles experience, when the intellect of men most fitted to govern should be strained to its utmost ; when the resources of the first intelligence would risk exhaustion, and when the highest ken of human capacity can scarcely reach the probabilities of a morrow, how are we to console ourselves for the absence of every requisite Intellect, Resource, or Intelligence, to meet the common occurrence of a Summer's Day Administration ?

I labour not to colour the Picture highly ; I will take the opinions of their hireling Defenders—" Their best Friends, (say they) are far from considering Ministers as possessed of very superior abilities. Their intentions are good, and we

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I could add a third—of whom it was said by your present faithful Achates (on that memorable

are to hope for every thing from their prudent line of conduct!" Prudent indeed—What excess of the most intemperate ambition could have involved us so *imprudently* in a war, by the insolent demand of an Ultimatum in thirty-six hours?

"Ministers, it is true, are not men of shining talents, but they are possessed of solid understanding, and of integrity." Their understanding may merit the epithets coupled with it. As for their integrity, when we recur to their conduct on the subject of the Cape and of Malta, their share of gratulation on that score will not be excessive.

"They are weak, and require support (says their Demi-Official Journalist), and therefore it is that we have upheld them, and still continue to do so." To what a situation must a Country be reduced, when the only plea for the support of the Government is its incapacity and inability to perform the functions required of it!—What must be the feelings of the once (insolently perhaps) proud Englishman, when he hears the opinion of his degraded Country in the different Courts of Europe!

This then is our state.

Undisputed, without one dissenting voice, the dangerous, unprecedented, and difficult dilemma of the Country is admitted. History hath not spoken, nor Tradition told of one more pregnant with ripening horror. To meet it, or rather to nurse it into life, we have an Administration which its best Friends acknowledge to be deficient in every requisite to meet the difficulties it has to encounter, whose supporters *excuse* themselves for the part they take, upon a principle of charitable mockery, and whose misconduct, errors, and imbecility, the Country mourns in silence, as the signal of havoc and desolation.

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day when he made a *filthy comparison* between a certain part of a certain Grecian, and the present CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER), that “if ever there was a man formed and fitted by Nature to benefit his Country, and to give it lustre, he is such a man”—but it may afford you subject matter for contemplation in the silent hour of the night, and I will therefore wave a task I must ever feel grateful to my heart—of lauding without flattery, and admiring without adulation, the First Character of the age in which we live.

A few short Observations shall close for ever my Correspondence with the Minister. I would first call to your remembrance, Sir, that one of the Portraits conveys to us a slight and unfinished sketch of that Man, up to whom your first introduction may be traced. This man was Father to a Son who gave birth to your hopes and realized the most ambitious of them. To this illustrious Father and his Son England is indebted for Glories that will die but with the last breath of Fame. To this illustrious Father and Son, you, Sir, are indebted for Patronage.—Against the Principles of *both*, and in professed opposition to their exalted System, you have apostatized from them, and have moreover added personal insult to this unworthy dereliction—You have endeavoured to sting the heart that fostered you, and now send forth your Hirelings to blast the Character under whose benign influence you were early cherished, supported,



supported, and raised above your level. You, Sir, are courting Allies (who do not hesitate publicly to laugh at your credulity) from the Bench which has displayed unvaried animosity for eighteen years towards the Principles and Person of your *first Friend*; and have *bribed* to your Confidence, and united to your Cause, *the man who directed a Pistol towards the head of your early Patron.*

I have done, Sir, and I trust you will believe me when I assure you, that there is nothing privately personal in the feelings which have dictated my Correspondence.—I tremble for my Country and I feel that you might rescue it, in a manner I need not repeat, from the perilous state to which it has been reduced by a series of weak and inefficient Measures.—This must plead my Apology, if I have, in any instance, trenched upon the line which common usage and the habit of Society draws betwixt Individuals—*if my sentiments have been strongly expressed—they were expressed in the Cause of my loved Native Land—if my language hath been too plain, accept the plain reason—I could not assort my words when a Parent was in danger.*

I have the Honour to be, Sir,

Your's, &c.

FITZ-ALBION.

THE END.

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*The Pamphlets by Horne*

# THE REASON WHY.

IN  
ANSWER  
TO  
A PAMPHLET

ENTITLED,  
"WHY DO WE GO TO WAR?"

TO WHICH IS AFFIXED,  
A REJOINDER TO THE REPLY OF THE AUTHOR OF  
"WHY DO WE GO TO WAR?"

Now all the youth of England are on fire,  
And filken galliance in the wardrobe lies;  
Now thrive the armourers, and honour's thought  
Reigns solely in the breast of every man.

HENRY V. ACT 2.

SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

1892

Price Two Shillings and Sixpence.

*The pamphlets which this  
can answer are by Horne*

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GOSWELL, Printer, Little Queen Street, Holborn.

## THE REASON WHY,

&c.

**A**N extraordinary publication has just made its appearance, asking as absurd a question as can well be put to the common sense of the British empire, viz. "Why do we go to war?" It might as well be asked, Why do we wish to preserve our privileges and enjoyments as individuals, or our honour and independence as a nation? True it is, that the author, whosoever he may be, has taken abundance of time to ponder over the subject before he ventured to make his lucubrations public, and has, no doubt, carefully rummaged every corner of his brain in quest of some specious argument in excuse for his profound ignorance, or in extenuation of his inflexible scepticism, or in defence of his wilful misrepresentation.

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I was, I own, rather curious to see, especially as the work is attributed, if not to a loyal subject, at least to an expert disputant, what could possibly be advanced in support of the opinion which was indicated by the title-page; which I knew was in direct contradiction to positive facts; and which was consequently untenable by any fair mode of reasoning. But the perusal of it, notwithstanding the labour of the author to assume a plausible ground, has only served to convince me more firmly, that the question, with regard to the present war, is so clear and unembarrassed, so broadly founded on the common sense, and so immediately applying to the common feeling of mankind, that no ingenuity or art can twist it into an opposite direction, or mould it into a contrary shape. There are, however, some men so closely wedded to their own false systems, and so desirous of gaining proselytes to their absurdities, that, in their efforts to represent things as they wish them in reality to exist, rather than abandon their hopes and views, when they are unable to convince by argument, they strive to mislead by subterfuge.

Such seems to be the scope which our author has allowed to his talents; and such being the mischievous purpose of his pamphlet, although not written with any extraordinary degree of acumen, or in a manner to produce the smallest impression on the minds of well-informed people; yet as, by

falling into the hands of the illiterate, it might, if unanswered, operate with a prejudicial tendency on their judgments, I have undertaken briefly to examine it, and to expose the fallacy, inconsistency, and misrepresentation which it contains.

Our author opens the scene by informing us, that the last war brought us to the "brink of a precipice\*;" and his humanity is excessively shocked, that we should be so soon "again involved in a conflict that has every appearance of being more ferocious, more inveterate than the last;" and which, of course, in *his* opinion, must inevitably plunge us into the abyss.

I certainly am as averse from war, abstractedly considered, as any man. I as plainly perceive its miseries, and as sincerely lament its necessity. But, when I declare this, I at the same time contend that there may be situations to which the calamities of war, great and terrible as they unquestionably are, must comparatively be regarded as blessings. When, therefore, we perceived that such a situation, the bare contemplation of which creates horror, was rapidly preparing for us, and that we could only escape from it by a prompt resolution to resist; when we had reached such perilous extremities; when, after being long deluded, we

suddenly awoke to a just apprehension of the dangers which were hemming us in; surely, between the choice of such alternatives, no wise, or prudent, or brave, or honourable man, could allow himself to hesitate for a moment: Under such urgent circumstances, he would not stop before he decided (as our author would have him) to deliberate on questions of finance, or to ascertain the extent of the taxes, and the amount of the national debt; but, convinced of the imperious necessity of instantaneous exertion, the strongest impulse of his feelings would be the discharge of his duty, and the only object of his solicitude the salvation of his country. Other considerations may be postponed with safety; but to demur about the assertion of national independence is a desperate experiment. ( )

Our author says, that, situated as we were, "the cause *should* have been the most obvious, the most striking to the senses of every individual in the kingdom, from the well-informed politician to the meanest mechanic, the simplest peasant of the land; a cause that should have urged him to snatch the first hedge-stake in his way to oppose an insulting and aggressive foe\*." And was it not such a cause, in the judgment of every inhabitant in the kingdom, save a few, who (from what *good* motives I know not) side with our au-

\* Page 4.

thor? Has not nearly *every* politician, *every* mechanic, *every* peasant, not by a mute and ambiguous assent, but by the decisive testimony of active loyalty and patriotic zeal, which he has voluntarily displayed, confirmed the assertion? Has not the generous emulation with which all ranks and descriptions of people have flood forward, an emulation manifested in different ways, according to their different means, unparalleled in the history of mankind, and which has induced them cheerfully to sacrifice all private ease and advantage to a sense of public duty, borne evidence to the fact? If ever a war were just and necessary, and if ever an opinion of that justice and necessity could be plainly demonstrated by the general voice and action of a nation, in what manner could it be more triumphantly expressed than it has been on the present occasion?

Our author next finds fault with the message of the 8th of March, and tells us, there could be no just cause of alarm, because there were at that time "but two frigates in the roads of Holland, and but three corvettes in the roads of Dunkirk\*." And are these then the only two places to be discovered along the extensive and formidable range of coast which is subject to the power and influence of France? Was she not sitting out large

\* Page 4.



armaments at Helvoetsluys\* and Flushing? Was she inactive at Havre, Cherbourg, Brest, and Toulon, her great naval arsenals? Had not the recruiting service been carried on with unabated diligence, and even by extraordinary levies, in every department of the republic? Had not a plan of aggression, persecution, and spoliation, been systematically adopted towards other states? Had we not been repeatedly insulted and aggrieved in various ways? Had not our rights been questioned, our claims rejected, and every satisfaction refused? Had not the Chief Consul publicly boasted to the Legislative Body and to the British

\* If, as Talleyrand declared on the 11th of March 1803, the expedition of Helvoetsluys were destined for America†, how came Louisiana to be ceded to the United States on the 30th of the following month‡? On a measure of such importance as the transfer of this valuable province, a correspondence must have been kept up between France and the United States, in order to settle the terms. The message of the 8th of March, no doubt, hastened its conclusion, and probably induced France to abandon her views in that quarter of the globe; but whichever way it be taken, it is clear, that the French cabinet was acting with perfidy either towards America or us. If the expedition were destined for Louisiana, it was a breach of faith towards America, whilst a negotiation was pending for its cession. If it were not, the declaration that it *was*, was a breach of faith towards us.

† *Correspondence. Verbal Note, No. 48.*

‡ *Ditto, Part II. No. 21.*

Ambassador of his military force, and of what it was able and willing to accomplish? Did all these concurring circumstances afford no just ground of jealousy, precaution, or distrust? Were they to be regarded as the common occurrences of the day, matters of mere indifference, and, as such, totally unworthy of our notice?

Having dismissed these preliminary topics, our author now enters into what he would fain make appear an impartial and candid investigation of the eight principal causes of dispute, as stated in his Majesty's Declaration; and, by garbling a few unconnected passages from the mass of correspondence, such as he is conscious will best suit his purpose, he labours hard to shew, that the conduct of France has been temperate, dignified, and sincere, and that of Britain hasty, insulting, and perfidious. But, in spite of the aid which he has occasionally derived from this unfair mode of representation, he has completely failed in the conclusions he has, with so much anxiety, attempted to establish. This I shall very easily prove.

In this regular attack, he begins by saying, "The first, and perhaps the heaviest (charge) respects the confiscation of our merchant-ships \*." This certainly was no slight cause of complaint;

\* Page 5.

but our author endeavours to explain it away by remarking, that "in the early part of the last war the French prohibited the importation of English goods and manufactures, which prohibition they did not think proper to take off at the peace;" and further, "that they had an undoubted right to make what regulations and restrictions they pleased\*." As far as their own country was concerned, they certainly had the *right*. But does possessing the right always justify the exertion of it? It was surely natural to expect that a rigid prohibition†, which had been enacted during war, and which had arisen out of the very circumstance of the hostile situation of the two countries, should terminate at the restoration of peace. But if, after the cessation of hostilities, instead of its repeal, or even its mitigation, we find it as obstinately persevered in, and as rigorously enforced as ever, to put the mildest construction on such a conduct, it must be obvious that it betrayed a malevolent and unfriendly disposition. It avowed a determination to continue the injury, after the cause for which it had been inflicted was removed; and although a formal act of

\* Page 5.

† This law was passed at a period of peculiar inveteracy, in 1794, during the usurpation of the ferocious Robespierre. Its continuance was well worthy of the usurpation of his successor, the ferocious Buonaparte.

reconciliation had been ratified, it seemed designed to keep alive, instead of burying in oblivion, not only the remembrance but the inconveniences and penalties of past animosity. But this was not all : these symptoms of an alienated and malignant mind were not left to mere negative suspicion ; they were confirmed and aggravated by overt acts.

By the treaty of Amiens, it was expressly stipulated, that all sequestrations imposed in France and England, on the property of the subjects of the respective empires, should, on the ratification of peace, be immediately taken off \* ; and it was clearly implied, that an open and amicable communication should be restored, and that every facility should be afforded, which was likely to cement a mutually good understanding between the two countries. We faithfully and punctually performed our part ; but the French government not only refused to extend the same rights to British subjects, but, in defiance of the reiterated remonstrances of the British Minister, which they never deigned to answer, continued to insult our flag, and seize our ships. They not only denied us those privileges which they had agreed to allow, but singling us out as objects of particular antipathy, they, in numerous instances, liberally granted to every other country what they

\* Definitive Treaty, Art. 14.

rigorously withheld from us. They not only objected to enter into any commercial arrangement with us themselves, but they openly exerted all their authority and influence to interrupt or dissolve our connexion with other states. Severe as their laws actually were against this country, they did not conceive it necessary merely to adhere to the provisions they contained, but, in order more effectually to harass and injure our trade, they strained them far beyond any construction they would bear. Not content with seizing vessels, on board of which was British property, coming within four leagues of the French coast, which they had decreed were liable to confiscation, they equally captured and condemned those which contained *no* British property, which had been driven into their harbours by stress of weather, and for which no latitude of interpretation could furnish them with the slightest pretence \*. Was this the part of a friend? Was it even the part of a neutral? Was it not the part of a foe? I see no reason to presume, as our author does, that our government was satisfied as to these points. They might not, indeed, have considered them as likely to lead to a rupture; they might have hoped that the French government would at last have yielded to the

\* On these interesting subjects, see the Correspondence, from p. 177 to p. 189.

justice of their claims. But as to their being satisfied, the direct contrary is proved, not ~~on~~ by the repeated applications and remonstrances of Mr. Jackson and Mr. Merry, but also by those of my Lord Whitworth, one of which was addressed to Buonaparte himself in the conference that took place between them in the month of February of the present year\*. So much for the first charge!

The second charge, our author continues, relates to the commercial agents, who, he admits, were sent into this country, to be stationed at our different sea-ports, and who, amongst other private instructions (which were fortunately intercepted by the vigilance of our government), were provided with the two following:

Instruction 11. "You are required to furnish a plan of the ports of your district, with a specification of the soundings for mooring vessels."

Instruction 12. "If no plan of the ports can be procured, you are to point out with what wind vessels can come in and go out, and what is the greatest draught of water with which vessels can enter therein deeply laden†."

All this, however, our author professes to think of very lightly, and endeavours to exculpate the French government even from the surmise of any sinister motive, by observing, that "this inform-

\* Correspondence, No. 38.

† Page 6.

ation was really necessary in a commercial point of view merely ;” and that, as for plans of our ports, and foundings of our harbours, “ they may be purchased at any good mapseller’s shop in London \*.” This may possibly be true: but, in the first instance, why appoint commercial agents? During the continuance of the commercial treaty, when there was a close and extensive intercourse between the two countries, no such agents were appointed, nor was their necessity felt. It surely then *does* seem rather paradoxical, that if the services of French agents could be conveniently dispensed with at the former period, they should be so absolutely requisite at the latter. For what were they wanted? Not for the purposes of trade, for none existed. The French government evidently, therefore, had some other object in contemplation. But let me further ask, why were they distributed in our sea port towns? Why were they all selected, not from merchants, or from those whose habits of life had led them to turn their minds to the investigation of commercial inquiries, but from engineers and other military men, who had signalized themselves in the republican army? Why was one of the most active and expert ordered to repair to Ireland? Why, after his establishment there, was he sur-

\* Page 6.

nished with private instructions, conveyed in a clandestine manner? Why, if the information sought after could have been procured in any mapseller's shop in London, was this circuitous mode preferred? Why, if it was to answer some commercial view *merely*, was not the British government candidly applied to? The answer to these interrogatories is obvious. The appointment alone, considering the circumstances under which it took place, was sufficient to awaken suspicion. The mystery and secrecy which attended it amounted almost to a positive proof of guilt. The instructions, which *were* intercepted, fell by chance into our hands. They are not of the most harmless cast; and from what they disclose, is it not fair to infer that others, of a still more offensive tendency, escaped detection? And do they not lead us to guess at the nature of the instructions these emissaries received antecedent to their departure from France? If they were innocent, why did the French so quietly acquiesce in their sudden dismissal? Why did they not assert their innocence, and, by courting investigation, remove the imputation of guilt? The fact is, self-conviction told them that their intentions were dishonest; and the excuse they invented could only be regarded as an unmanly prevarication, or a barefaced falsehood. Mr. Otto's *concilia-*



very letter, quoted by our author \*, and several other corresponding propositions respecting trade, were certainly presented by the French government; but the moment the British government shewed a serious disposition to come to a definitive settlement, insurmountable obstacles were instantly started by France, and some fresh cause of delay was interposed.

The third charge, that of desiring us to send away the emigrants, is undoubtedly the least important one; and our author does allow (because, I suppose, it is the least important) that we acted with "manliness and humanity †," in refusing to comply ‡. This point was not, however, as our author states, *immediately* abandoned: it was *repeatedly* urged by the French, and as *repeatedly* rejected by us §.

\* Page 7.

† Page 8.

‡ How did the late attempted negotiation at Warsaw degrade Buonaparte, and elevate Louis, even above the splendour of a throne! If any thing could recall the affections of the deluded subjects of this unfortunate monarch, and open their eyes to a just conception of the real character of the hypocritical tyrant who is destroying them, it would be the recollection of this transaction. Buonaparte, with all his craft, like other villains, sometimes betrays himself, and nothing could have so fully proved even his own opinion of the weakness of his title.

§ See Correspondence.

The fourth charge, requiring that the laws and constitution of this country should be changed, relative to the liberty of the press, our author also affects to treat as a matter of perfect indifference; but from the length at which he argues it, and the pains he has bestowed on the discussion, he proves that, in reality, he considers it as a matter of importance. The aim of his reasoning is, however, evidently to acquit the French, and to criminate us. He says, "Let us see what is the complaint, and what is the request, and how far it can be said they have required an alteration in our laws and constitution. They complain, that ever since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, the English press has not ceased to calumniate and revile the French and their government, to represent their republic in the most odious and degrading light, that the people are appealed to against it, and instigated thereby to insurrection and rebellion\*."

With which of the two countries this war of words originated, I confess myself ignorant: I have, however, always understood that the French were the aggressors. This claim to priority, when both parties were so ready to engage, is not worth ascertaining: but of this I am positive, that accusation, scurrility, and recrimination of every

\* Page 8.

kind, were wielded with infinitely more virulence and indecency by the Paris than by the London journalists. There was, indeed, one essential distinction which characterized the remarks that appeared in this country, and which rendered them more cuttingly offensive; and this was, that they were, for the most part, founded in truth: whereas the retorts and aspersions which were vomited forth by the Paris editors, were merely the fabrications of jealousy, hatred, anger, and spleen.

Our author proceeds by saying, "They observe (that is, the French), that the particular laws and constitution of Great Britain are subordinate to the general principles of the law of nations; that if it be a right in England to allow the most extensive liberty to the press, it is a public right of polished nations, and the bounden duty of governments, to prevent, repress, and punish every attack which might, by those means, be made against the rights, the interests, and the honour of foreign powers. This," our author exclaims \*, "is all but too true, and, I believe, universally allowed." Now I believe, that if not universally, it is very generally *disallowed*. What, in the first instance, has this to do with the law of nations? The law of nations means that code which, arising out of the law of nature, has

\* Page 9.

been established by the consent of independent states, for the adjudication of those affairs, which are beyond their domestic jurisdiction, and which is necessary to the regulation and maintenance of their foreign concerns. But it is totally distinct from constitutional or municipal law, and cannot possibly have any control over the internal regulations of a separate and independent government. Of these, every such government must necessarily be the sole mover and judge, accountable to no foreign power whatever, and in which no foreign power whatever can, under any possible pretext, claim the right of interference. If we had refused to the French that redress which the jurisprudence of the country provides, we should have merited a very severe censure: but were we to new-model our laws and constitution, such as they have happily existed for above a century past, at the peremptory demand of an alien government? Was there any thing so peculiarly sacred in the character or the administration of Buonaparte, as to warrant so flagrant a dereliction of the observance of all prescriptive modes? Were we to deviate from the ordinary rules of distributive justice; to change the established forms of our tribunals; to infringe the liberties of the subject; to put a padlock on the tongue and pen; and to institute an inquisitorial court,

court, in which our patriotic author would, no doubt, have had a *French* judge preside, merely because eight or ten individuals had been in the habit of stating that the French were enslaved, which every one perceived; that the First Consul was a tyrant, which nobody doubted; that his ambition was insatiable, which he was every day proving; and that he had been guilty of the most atrocious cruelties, which had been clearly brought home to him? If our government had the power of controlling the press, and laying it under arbitrary restraints and penalties for such offences as these, there would be an end at once of all freedom of opinion, of all political investigation, and even of all historical truth. I am no advocate for the licentiousness of the press. I freely acknowledge all its mischief, and never wish to screen it from merited chastisement. But when excesses are committed, I am an advocate for that mode and measure of punishment which the known law of the land inflicts, and am a decided enemy to despotic fines, captious innovations, or unnecessary retrenchments; and, above all, to those which are dictated or suggested by a foreign power. Our courts were open to Buonaparte, as well as to every other person, and before them any one who had given him offence might have been arraigned. But whilst he knew this, he also knew the weakness of his

cause. He perceived the impolicy of prosecuting a suit, in which all parties would have been impartially dealt with. He was aware, that a trial on such points as must have been there investigated and detailed, would have diffused the infamy of his character, and corroborated the proofs of his guilt. *That* was the reason why he was desirous of some *French* method of stopping these unpalatable publications, such as secret examination, secret imprisonment, secret torture, and secret death. Yet our author, who displays so much anxiety for the introduction of this intolerant system, affirms that he is "as much attached as any man to the liberty of the press \*."

He goes on by asking, "Was it to be expected that the First Consul should patiently and quietly endure to be so personally abused, and hear the people he commanded perpetually excited to revolt?" The wisest plan he could have adopted, would have been that which was pursued by the British government with regard to similar publications in France; which was, to take no notice of them. But the irritability of his temper preventing this prudent and dignified demeanour; if, after having interdicted their admission into France, his revenge was still un-

satisfied; why did he not have recourse to the only remedy which our government could offer, and with which, indeed, it is provided for its own defence, and apply for protection and redress to the laws? Were not the late Queen of France, and the late Emperor of Russia, surely as august personages as Buonaparte, reduced to the same necessity? And if these mighty potentates, descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors, nursed in the very cradle of pomp, accustomed from their earliest infancy to regal state, and born to empire and command, could submit to appeal to the integrity, and bow to the decision, of a British tribunal; it could not be regarded as any *peculiar* condescension or degradation for Buonaparte, the child of chance, the son of an obscure family in an obscure island, whose early life had been passed in indigence and neglect, who had crouched before each successive idol, who had been the humble agent of Robespierre, and the ferocious executioner of Barras, to pursue the same course, and (if such it could be considered) endure the same mortification. But the fact is, he was goaded by the workings of conscious guilt; he was exasperated by the veracity of the assertions in the English prints, and also by the perfect indifference with which our government, for a long time, continued to treat

even the official abuse of France \*. They despised the allegations of falsehood; he trembled before the narratives of truth.

Our author asks, "what was required, or rather what was solicited?" for Mr. Otto's note, he observes, says, "The undersigned has in consequence received a special order to *solicit* †;" and a little further on, he informs us, that we, in answer, "talk highly of the liberty of our press," and that "the French are silent, and mention the subject no more ‡."

Now one would really imagine from the above statement, that the French had mentioned the matter *once* §; that they had preferred an humble

\* The first paper taken notice of by our government, was Sebastiani's Report.

† Page 9.

‡ Page 10.

§ By a reference to the *Moniteur*, the nature and extent of the French *official* abuse may be seen. But the most scandalous libels appeared in the *Argus*, a paper printed at Paris, in English, and the only one that was latterly allowed to be circulated in France in that language. The proprietors of it were an abandoned set of English and Irish renegadoes and traitors, who had saved themselves by flight from the justice of their country, and whose object was to vilify and defame the king, the government, the laws, the constitution, and the people, of the British empire. They were, nevertheless, openly patronized by the French government, and their paper was published and circulated under their auspices. To render it more peculiarly offensive, it was conducted with augmented asperity, at the very moment Mr. Otto was presenting his complaints in his *soliciting* note.



solicitation; that we had returned a haughty answer; that they had acquiesced; and that nothing more had been said about it. What then are we to think of the candour of our author, when, on referring to the Official Correspondence, we discover that, even in the very document he has ventured to quote, Mr. Otto, the humble Mr. Otto, represents the matter as a very serious offence \*; that Talleyrand, in a conversation with Lord Whitworth, gives him to understand that the First Consul is highly incensed †; that the First Consul himself, in his conference with Lord Whitworth, declares that “to preserve peace, the abuse in the public prints must, if not *totally suppressed*, at least be kept within bounds, and confined to English papers ‡;” and that General Andreossi, in an elaborate note presented to Lord Hawkesbury, the 29th of March 1803, not only inveighs against journalists and pamphleteers, but against the *speeches of some leading Members of Parliament*, and concludes the subject with the modest proposal, that the British press should be put under the same regulations as those which prevail in France §?

Our author next says, “There was a time, undoubtedly, when the First Consul felt anxious to

\* See Correspondence, No. 12.

† No. 38.

‡ No. 35.

§ No. 49.

obtain the good opinion and friendship of this country \*." No doubt there was. But was there ever a time when he would have granted us his good opinion and friendship in return? No! We had created a deadly and unalterable hatred in his breast by the vigour with which we had opposed him; by the boundary which we had placed to his arms and his ambition. If, therefore, he was desirous of *our* good opinion and friendship, it could not be from any motive of benevolence or esteem; but that he might have a nearer prospect of deluding us by his perfidy, and a safer opportunity of sacrificing us to his revenge; that he might, under the mask of dissimulation, undermine our resources, impede our views, frustrate our hopes, and destroy our independence. This, I contend, is by no means assuming too wide a field of suspicion. In cases of this description, when the purport has been defeated, we can only reason from analogy. But when I look round, and observe the slavery and ruin in which (wherever he *has* succeeded) his professions towards other states have uniformly terminated, his designs to the prejudice of this country are sufficiently evinced.

Whilst contemplating the wretched and abject condition of those states, which have been ensnar-

ed by the toils of his artifice, and crushed by the strength of his power, which have felt the alternate operation of the tyranny of his temper, the rapacity of his avarice, and the desolation of his cruelty; can any man be so basely tame, or so madly foolish, as to confide in his assurances? What security can you repose in the promises of an usurper, who has denied his God, who has abjured his religion, who has ridiculed the obligation of an oath, and whose career has been an uninterrupted succession of treachery, rapine, and barbarity, such as human nature never before exhibited? How were those devoted countries, which are now chained down to the footstool of his throne, enslaved? By a base dereliction of their *own* duties, and a blind reliance on *his* word! And what has been their reward? Whither has he not dispatched his ministers of vengeance, who, like a swarm of locusts, blast the land on which they alight? Pillage and massacre, profanation, obscenity, and brutal lust, have accompanied every step. The very earth has seemed to groan under the burden of their crimes. Neither wealth nor poverty, sex nor age, have been spared. The venerable feebleness of decrepitude, the interesting helplessness of infancy, the ingenuous candour of youth, the supplicating tears of beauty, the sanctity of religion, and the purity of virtue, have been equally disregarded. Sacrilege and

blasphemy have supplanted the rites of worship; robbery and confiscation have subverted the throne of justice; and atrocities and abominations, which no language can delineate, have banished all peace and comfort from the pale of domestic life. The range of nature is the empire at which his insatiate mind grasps, and the sufferings of the human race are the object of his keenest appetites. When no longer propelled by the ostensible motives of his profligate policy, he destroys from the wantonness of a brutal imagination, as if fearful that his dexterity should be impaired by repose. The tender of his bounty is the smile of the traitor, who excites the hope, to aggravate the misery, of his victim; and who, whilst smiling, plants a dagger in his heart. Such is the character of the man, whom our author would recommend to the friendship of this country.

After what our author terms a re-examination of the three last charges, he comes to the fifth, which is that of affirming, that Great Britain cannot singly contend with the power of France; which he alleges, "is too puerile to be commented upon\*." Standing alone, it certainly is. If, for example, the mushroom King of Etruria had proclaimed the same assertion, we should have

\* Page 12.

laughed at it. If it had come, even from Buonaparte, in any other way, we should have despised it. But when it was deliberately inserted in a grave report from the executive government of France to the Legislative Body, in the design of its being circulated through Europe with all the weight and authority which such a government could give to such an act, it assumed a very different character. What could be the intention of the French cabinet in making such a vaunt? It could not be to conciliate our friendship, to flatter our nationality, or to consolidate our fame. But was it not to endeavour to convince Europe of the existence of the fact; to degrade us in their estimation; to prove to them that we had degenerated from our ancient character; and that we were so completely exhausted and dismayed, that we could no longer claim a pretension to the high and independent situation by which we were formerly distinguished. Coupled also as it was with other concomitant circumstances, it was not altogether unlikely to produce such an inference. Buonaparte, having previously inculcated the doctrine, had already formally declared, that we had

\* See the *Moniteur* of the 29th October 1802, in which this question is discussed at length in the most insolent terms. Buonaparte's observation to Lord Whitworth of "Vous n'avez pas le droit d'en parler à cette heure," was rather a laconic mode of settling so important a question.

no longer a right to interfere in the continental concerns of Europe; and to convince us of his determination to act up to the declaration, he was parcelling out kingdoms, and principalities, and republics, at his pleasure.

Our author says, "The subsequent paragraph is more worthy our attention."

"But we have better hopes; and we believe, in the British cabinet, nothing will be listened to but the counsels of wisdom and the voice of humanity\*." If this were not intended as a mockery, why was not the previous unprovoked affront omitted?

Of the sixth charge, which is the manifesto published in the *Hamburg Gazette*, our author remarks, "It is not a little surprising to find inserted in the catalogue of offences, this manifesto; for, upon our demand of immediate satisfaction, every authority from the French government for the publication of it was denied, and most *completely disavowed*†." This is as much as to maintain, that, however flagrant and public any insult committed by one government towards another may be, although the fact be proved to demonstration, which, in this instance, it certainly was, if the offending government choose to disavow it, the apology is sufficient, and all

\* Page 12.

† Ibid.

ground of complaint is instantly removed. By this strange mode of reasoning, you may circulate the most scurrilous abuse without danger, and propagate the most infamous falsehoods without responsibility. All you have to do on detection, is stoutly to disown the charge, and the business is at once settled. It may be worth while to inquire into this affair a little further. Now, as to the fact, it appears that M. Rheinhardt, the French minister at Hamburgh, applied, in his official capacity, to the Senate of that city, to have inserted in their Gazette a furious libel on the British government. They were convened extraordinarily to consider how to act in an affair of such delicacy, but they judged it prudent to comply with the demand\*. "It was their wish that they might at least be allowed to omit or qualify the most offensive passages; but M. Rheinhardt said his orders were positive, for the *full and exact* insertion of the whole†." M. Rheinhardt, however, not yet satisfied with the success of his exertions, applied to the magistrates at Altona for leave to have it also inserted in their papers; who replied, "that they could not possibly permit it without an express order from their government." In consequence of this refusal,

\* If the Senate had inserted such a paper against France, at our instance, what would have been the fate of Hamburgh?

† See Correspondence, No. 71.

"M. Daguesseau, the French minister at the court of Copenhagen, received from his colleague at Hamburgh, a copy of the article, with a request that he would solicit the permission of its publication in the Danish papers\*." This was also refused. Now is it at all probable that two French ministers, who well knew the temper and power of their master, should have ventured, *without orders*, to have made a requisition of so serious and unexampled a nature? and is not what followed a decisive proof that these orders were transmitted? It was very easy for Talleyrand, after the purpose was answered, to deny the fact, and to say, "that the First Consul considered Rheinhardt's conduct so reprehensible, that every satisfaction might be expected." Was any satisfaction given? Was the only reparation (and that but a poor one) which could be made, granted? Was the fact publicly and formally disclaimed? Was the Senate of Hamburgh authorized to state, which they would gladly have done, that the insertion was without authority, that it was a misunderstanding, and that it was a gross and scandalous libel? Were Rheinhardt and Daguesseau chastised for their insolence? Were they dismissed from their offices, or even

\* Correspondence, No. 72.



reprimanded for this pretended breach of instruction? The matter speaks for itself.

A little farther on our author remarks, that "a futile argument is sometimes made use of, that these causes are nothing if singly taken, but all together amount to a sufficient one;" and by way, I suppose, of enlivening his page with a specimen of the fecundity of his wit, he adds, "but if individually they are nothing, and are proved to be so, can an aggregate of *nothings* ever amount to any thing\*?" Now, whatever our author's estimation of them may be, I really never heard any thing like such an assertion made: and I think any man, who seriously advances it, must be not only destitute of common feeling, but of common sense. In the opinion of many, each, separately taken, was a sufficient cause of war. In the opinion of others again, although, individually considered, they did not perhaps warrant an immediate recourse to the last extremity, yet collectively, they furnished a very strong case. And although we are infinitely obliged to our author for the information, that add nothing to nothing and nothing will be produced, yet, with his permission, we may also be allowed the capacity to perceive, that several strong points added together yield an aggregate of their united strength, and that even

\* Page 12.

trifling causes, by repetition, may at last amount to something insupportable.

Our author next considers the charge of aggrandizement, and earnestly endeavours, though to very little purpose, to persuade us that France is still in the right. He inquires, "whether the situation of Europe was essentially different at the time of the message, in March 1803, from what it was at the signing of the treaty of Amiens, March 1802 \*?" I answer, Yes! it *essentially* was. Piedmont was not then annexed; the clandestine arrangement respecting Parma was unknown, and consequently unsuspected; the encroachments on the Germanic Body had not been finally arranged †; the independence of Switzerland, which had been solemnly guaranteed by a recent treaty, had not been forcibly violated; and the

\* Page 13.

† In the settlement of this iniquitous business, every one must be struck with the large portion allotted to the King of Prussia, and the small one acquired by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose forfeited dominion was of ten times the value. The principal object of France, was to weaken the power of the House of Austria, on whose preservation, the liberties of the continent were chiefly dependant. In proportion as the Emperor is humbled, the King of Prussia, who is the tool and vassal of France, is rendered more formidable (I mean, of course, in his relation to the Germanic Body). The seizure of Piedmont and Switzerland, which were the chief barriers against invasion, have given a fatal blow to the power and consequence of the Austrian family.

agreement, which France had entered into to withdraw her troops from Holland, was expected to be punctually observed. And are all these disappointments, all these spoliations, all these scandalous infractions of the most sacred pledges by which one nation can bind itself to another, mere matters of indifference? In the good times of Europe, any one of these acts would have roused every other state to arms, and have cemented a general league for the repression and chastisement of such iniquitous proceedings. And because other states have meanly shrunk from *their* duty, is a powerful, an honourable, a valiant, and an independent nation like Britain to follow their retrograde and cowardly footsteps? Are we bound to repose confidence in the bare *assurances* of a government, in whose *acts* we can trace nothing but the most flagitious perfidy; which, towards every other country, has broken its plighted faith; which, whenever its strength has been sufficient to ensure impunity to crimes, has overstepped all dictates of honour, all principles of justice, and all bounds of decency; and which, in addition to these proofs of an unprincipled mind, has, in numberless instances, testified an unremitting propensity to reduce us to the same helpless and contemptible situation? By way of illustration to his mode of reasoning, our ingenious author propounds the following question: "If," says he,

"a man has taken my purse, of what consequence is it whether he holds it in his hand or puts it into his pocket\*?"—So that if a thief got hold of a purse, if he were but a *French thief* (which I take to be our author's meaning), he would have him quietly keep it, and would disapprove of any interference which might disappoint him of his prey. But independently of the turpitude of such a doctrine, which goes to the total dismemberment of social life, the case is far from being a parallel one. In the above instances, France had never obtained an absolute possession. Her troops had been admitted conditionally, at least by implication, and formal contracts had been since concluded, explicitly declaring, that the independence of the countries should be inviolably preserved†. Whether the treaties respecting Piedmont, Switzerland, and Holland, were negotiated with us or with any other power, was perfectly immaterial. With whomsoever they were negotiated, it was natural to suppose that they would be executed; and the treaty of Amiens being founded on a basis which bore an immediate reference to the relative situation of Great Britain and France‡, any essential change in that situation, to our evident disadvantage, be-

\* Page 13.

† See the treaty of Luneville, and that between France and the Batavian republic.

‡ Correspondence, No. 45.

came a point of proportionate consequence to us. Did the First Consul's exclamation of "*Ce sont des bagatelles*," alluding to Piedmont and Switzerland, diminish their real importance, or transmute the original and acknowledged principles of the treaty, those constituent and fundamental materials on which the whole fabric was reared? Was not this country also peculiarly interested in the independence of the Batavian republic; and did it not, by the third article of the treaty of Amiens, consent to an almost general restitution of her colonies, evidently under that impression? Can the idea be for a moment entertained that it was the design of the British government to place all these rich and valuable settlements in the hands of our most dangerous rival?

These unjustifiable pretensions and acts on the part of France assumed also an alarming aspect in another point of view. They, in some degree, developed the insidious designs of the First Consul, and, by proclaiming that he was not to be restrained by any written agreement, they naturally awakened our jealousies and fears, and pointed out to us the necessity of looking more closely to our own security. Our author says, that "Buonaparte declared he would withdraw his troops, the moment the treaty of Amiens was fully completed on our part, and Malta evacuated

according to agreement \*." But, by his treaty with Holland, he was bound to withdraw his troops the moment the definitive treaty was signed †. No disagreement had yet arisen about Malta; nor were we, even supposing that all the conditions respecting its surrender had been punctually fulfilled, pledged to evacuate it before the expiration of three months. France then began the dispute by a breach of faith, in the observance of which we were materially concerned. And what assurance or security did she offer us but her mere word, which she was in the constant habit of violating, that she would on this occasion be scrupulous; or how could we expect that she, who in that very identical instance had broken her faith with Holland, would not also break it with Britain?

The last point our author musters in review is Malta, which, in truth, is one of the most prominent causes of the present war. He says, "By the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, we appear specifically and absolutely to have agreed

\* Page 15.

† We, in obedience to the treaty, delivered up Minorca and Porto Ferraio, within the period of *one* month. France, on the contrary, in defiance of the *spirit* of the treaty, seized Porto Ferraio on its being evacuated by our troops, and, in defiance of the *letter*, kept possession of her conquests in the Mediterranean for *three* months.

to evacuate Malta within the space of three months after the signature: we keep it twelve, then demand it for ten years longer; which not being complied with, we commence hostilities. What is our defence \*?" Certainly not such a one as our author seems disposed to make.

Although I am far from thinking that there would have been no war had no dispute arisen about Malta, yet I readily admit, that much discussion and altercation might have been spared, had the possession of it been confirmed to us by one of the articles of the treaty. This, however, having been omitted, all we had to do was to look to the specific terms on which we had agreed to surrender it, and to abide by them. Having put our hand and seal to certain conditions, we surely intended that the limitations and restrictions they prescribed should be literally obeyed. What is the meaning of a contract but to bind down the contracting parties to the observance of particular stipulations, which if not in every respect complied with, the bargain is annulled? If this be not the meaning of such an instrument, where is the use of its intervention? for if the parties, at the time of its performance, intended to absolve each other from its contents, the deed itself was in its origin a nonentity. But

\* Page 16.

this is too ridiculous an absurdity for the most credulous to entertain. The validity of the deed being then granted, we have only to examine the terms. They are expressed at considerable length, and bear every internal evidence of sincerity, and even of anxiety on our part, that they should be accomplished; and if, from no neglect or fault of ours, but in consequence of difficulties and objections thrown out by those powers who were invited to become guarantees, they were afterwards rendered impracticable, the blame could not lie with us, and we were certainly released from our part of the engagement. Any other arrangement might no doubt have been concerted between the parties immediately interested. That was optional, but the existing one was to all intents and purposes void. But this business deserves more minute investigation.

Article 10 of the definitive treaty, about which so much has been said, is followed, as every body knows, by thirteen stipulations.

The 1st says, That the knights of the Order, whose languages shall continue to subsist after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta, as soon as that exchange shall have taken place. They shall there form a general chapter, and shall proceed to the election of a Grand Master, &c.

The 2d, That, in order to preserve the inde-



pendence of the island, there shall henceforth be no English nor French languages.

The 3d, That a Maltese langue shall be established, to be supported out of the land revenues and commercial duties of the island—to be endowed with peculiar privileges, which are enumerated. And it is moreover stipulated, that the municipal, revenue, civil, judicial, and other offices under the government of the island, shall be filled, at least in the proportion of one half, by native inhabitants of Malta, Gozo, and Comino.

The 4th, That the forces of his Britannic Majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies, within three months after the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if it can be done: at that period the island shall be delivered up to the Order in the state in which it now is, provided that the Grand Master, or commissioners, fully empowered according to the statutes of the Order, be upon the island to receive possession; and that the force to be furnished by his Sicilian Majesty, as hereafter stipulated, be arrived there.

The 5th, That the garrison of the island shall at all times consist at least one half of native Maltese, &c.

The 6th, That the independence of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be under the protec-

tion and guaranty of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia.

Articles 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11, relate to the neutrality of the island, and certain commercial and internal regulations.

The 12th, That his Sicilian Majesty shall be invited to furnish two thousand men, natives of his dominions, to serve as a garrison for the several fortresses upon the island, &c.

The 13th, That the several powers specified in paragraph 6, shall be invited to accede to the present arrangement.—Such is the substance of the thirteen paragraphs\*.

Our author observes, that the fourth “is the only provisional clause†;” but because it is the only provisional one, is it the only obligatory one? I maintain that every one of the other clauses is fully as binding. Is not the clause in question couched in the same terms as the others? Does it not say, “The forces of his Britannic Majesty *shall* evacuate,” &c. and can the word, “*provided*,” in the middle of the sentence, impart an additional force to the word “*shall*” at the commencement? On the contrary, it is a qualification which evidently weakens it. It provides an additional stipulation, affecting that particular clause, but can have no reference to the con-

\* See the Definitive Treaty.

† Page 16.

struction of the preceding or subsequent parts of the treaty.

The next paragraph our author mentions is the sixth, which stipulates, that the independence of the islands shall be under the protection and guaranty of Great Britain, France, &c. Is this language at all equivocal? If to the sentence, as it stands, had been prefixed—"provided they accept;" here would have been one of our author's provisional clauses, which would have done away the present import of the word *shall*; but, standing alone, it is unqualified and absolute. Our author remarks on the expression, *shall be*, "What! whether they will consent or not \*?" The inquiry was not made; but the French, who were parties as well as ourselves, were in close intelligence with several of the proposed guarantees, and had better opportunities than we of learning their sentiments. But why, pray, is the "*shall*" in paragraph 4 to have such force, and the "*shall*" in paragraph 6 to be divested of all signification? The answer is evident: because it suits the purposes of our author, and of his friends the French.

Our author next jumps to paragraph 13, in which, with his accustomed sagacity and impartiality, he observes that the powers specified in

\* Page 17.

paragraph 6, are *invited* to accede to the present arrangement. The term *invited*, he says, is a proof that they had the *power* to refuse. Nobody surely ever thought of denying them the *power*; but we at least hoped and expected that they would comply, and, at all events, were bound to put the question in a civil manner. Now it is worthy of remark, that the above term occurs twice before in this particular part of the treaty respecting Malta; viz. in paragraph 1, the knights of the Order are *invited* to return. We were no surer of the *invited knights* than of the *invited guarantees*; yet if the knights, despising our invitation, had refused to return, would our author contend that we were bound to deliver up the island? To whom? to the French? Again, paragraph 12, "His Sicilian Majesty shall be *invited* to furnish two thousand men." Here the expression is identically the same as the one our author quarrels with above. His Sicilian Majesty had also the *power* to refuse; yet, if he had refused, would our author still have had us evacuate the island, when, by such a refusal, his favourite solitary provisional clause would have been completely invalidated? So much for the candour, and, I may add, for the logic, of our author\*.

\* The sense which the French government sometimes annexes to the term "*invited*," may be seen by referring to:

But why were guarantees nominated, and a certain set of *langues* agreed on, except as a security against the projects of France, which we, from past conduct as well as present pretensions, were certainly justified in suspecting? The *langues*, however, underwent such radical alterations, that their very constitution was vitiated, and their consequence and independence were totally destroyed. Some of the priories were abolished, whilst others were deprived of their revenues; and as for the guarantees, in consequence of the obstinate silence of France, they declined acceding to our repeated applications. Now what did our repeated applications and the obstinate silence of France prove? What but our sincerity and her perfidy? Let us, for a little, examine dates, those stubborn criteria of truth. The definitive treaty was signed on the 27th day of March 1802, and Malta was to be evacuated on certain conditions (one of the principal of which was, the accession of the proposed guarantees) three months posterior to that act. On

No. 21 of the Official Correspondence, in which it appears, that Semonville, the French ambassador at the Hague, in his insolent communication to the President of the Batavian government, after declaring the surprise and *indignation* of Buonaparte in consequence of some *domestic* disturbances, informs him, "Que le Premier Consul, comme allié de la république, *invitoit* le gouvernement," &c.

the 15th of July at Vienna, on the 21st of August at Berlin, and a few days previous to the 17th of September at Peterburgh, we find, from the official communications of our ministers at these respective courts, that the French ministers had received no instructions from their government to join our applications respecting the completion of the guaranty \*. Were *we* then answerable for obstacles which were occasioned by the deliberate neglect, or the artful intrigues, of the French cabinet? Were we the cause of difficulty or delay?

In consequence, however, of our persisting to retain Malta till the conditions, on which we alone agreed to surrender it, were fulfilled, the French government, to save appearances, at last ordered their ministers at Berlin and Peterburgh to apply (their minister at Vienna having previously applied without orders, and the Emperor having consented), in conjunction with us; and on the 3d of November following, we find General Hedouville, who was the French minister at the court of Peterburgh, stating in the presence of Sir J. B. Warren, the British minister, to the Chancellor of Russia, "that without the guaranty of Russia, either of the two powers (meaning England and France), upon the first

\* See the Correspondence.

difference between them, would look upon themselves at liberty to seize the island \*." Here then, at least, was *his* opinion of the importance of a guaranty, and particularly of the accession of Russia.

The first formal requisition respecting Malta, which was made to the British cabinet, was on the 25th of January 1803. On that day we find the crafty Talleyrand, who was not yet acquainted with the conditional consent of the Emperor of Russia, acknowledging to Lord Whitworth, that, generally speaking, the accession of the guarantees was necessary; but observing (Austria having consented, Prussia being at his command †, and entertaining some doubts about Russia) that the guaranty would be equally complete *without*

\* Correspondence, No. 33.

† In August 1802, when Mr. Bignon, the French minister at Berlin, was applied to at different times by Mr. Casamajor, on the subject of Malta, "he constantly affected the greatest indifference, and treated it as a matter of too little importance to occupy the attention of the French government ‡." In November of the same year, Count Haugwitz, the principal Prussian minister of state, was applied to by Mr. Jackson, on the same subject. He said that Prussia "took a very slight interest in the fate of the island, and that she was countenanced in withholding her guaranty by the *example of Spain* §." Here is a singular coincidence of sentiment, between the French and Prussian ministers, and a pretty strong circumstantial proof, that they were both instructed by France how to act.

‡ Correspondence, No. 28.

§ No. 31.

Russia †; admitting also that we had some pretext to keep Malta, but that it would be speedily removed ‡. So late, therefore, as the 25th of January 1803, within a few days of ten months after the signature of the definitive treaty, we observe the wary Talleyrand differing entirely from the opinion of our author, and allowing that we had a justifiable pretext, which *would be soon removed*. Could then, in the name of candour and justice, up to this period at least, any blame possibly attach to us? Five days after Talleyrand's declaration, viz. on the 30th of January, Sebastiani's Report was published.

About this time the provisional accession of the Emperor of Russia, which had been signed at Petersburg on the 24th of November 1802, reached London. It was unfortunately such as we could not consent to, as its main purport was to abolish the Maltese language, and to disfranchise the native inhabitants of the island of all those peculiar privileges with which we had stipulated that they should be invested. But whilst we lamented this circumstance, we testified every disposition to come to some qualified arrangement, which might

† Here was a wide difference of opinion between Talleyrand and Hedouville.

‡ Correspondence, No. 35.



bring the dispute to an amicable adjustment, and, at the same time, secure the Maltese, whom we in honour were bound to protect, in the enjoyment of their rights†. Nothing, however, can disarm the resentment of our author, who, ever ready to stand forward as the champion of France; in his fatal zeal to serve her, is thrown into a heap of inconsistencies, among which he totally loses himself. One moment he reproaches us for abandoning the Maltese, the next for advocating their cause; and after abusing us (though not in terms, yet in fact) for insisting on the observance of the *letter* of the treaty, he accuses us of flying from the letter, and wishing to abide by our interpretation of the *spirit*\*.

No sooner did the French government perceive our readiness to enter into a new arrangement respecting Malta (which had been indicated even before the sentiments of the Emperor of Russia were known), and to renounce those advantages which the unforeseen impracticability of the contract had fairly placed in our hands, than they construed this relaxation into a disposition to abdicate every thing rather than renew hostilities. Stimulated by such conjectures, they imagined that

† Correspondence, No. 2, of papers ordered to be printed on 26th May.

\* Page 30.

they could easily terrify us into any terms of submission; and in this persuasion, partly by way of bravado, and partly to expose and humiliate us in the eyes of the world, they thought fit to publish Sebastiani's Report, wherein they insolently displayed the scope of their views, and boldly avowed the plans they purposed adopting to ensure their accomplishment\*.

Although this Report, like every other outrage or aggression on the part of France, is treated by our author with the greatest levity, it was, fortunately for this country, contemplated by the Government with a more appropriate feeling. The French had now hazarded a step too far,

\* General Andreossi, in his official note presented on the 29th of March 1803, mentions Sebastiani's Report as an answer to Sir Robert Wilson's publication. He says, "It was at once a refutation and a reparation, which the French army had a right to expect†." Now if this had been one of the occasions of the Report, being merely an historical anecdote related by a *private individual* (and, like the relation of every other transaction, necessary to the character of his work), it still could be no justification of the conduct of the *government* of France. But even the fact, defective as it is, will not bear out the assertion. Sebastiani sailed from Toulon on the 16th of September, and Sir Robert Wilson's work did not appear till the November following; so that the instructions of the French emissary could not possibly be the consequence of the publication of the English Colonel.

† *Correspondence, No. 49.*

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which at once opened our eyes, awakened us to our danger, and put a period to concession. Many of the lies which the Report contains were so palpable, that the internal evidence of their falsehood was instantly discernible. The unqualified publication of them by the government of France was, therefore, an aggravation of the affront. It was adding the provocation of contempt to the indelicacy of abuse. The critical moment at which it appeared, whilst matters of no small moment were pending, was an additional proof of their determination to preserve no friendship with us, but, on the contrary, to harass and insult us in a manner that should convince the world that we had no longer the fortitude to resist, and that an attack was all that was necessary to subdue us. This Report stopped at once all further proceedings, and so reversed the visible position of circumstances, that we now declared a resolution not to evacuate Malta, until an adequate security was placed in our hands. Was this more than common sense suggested, or common discretion required? or were we still to go on, submitting to provocations, enduring reproaches, and acquiescing in encroachment, till not only Malta but England was at the disposal of France? If the public concerns of the nation had been intrusted to the management of our author, we should in all probability

have shortly had to deplore such an humiliation. Our author, who takes such a charitable view of this scandalous official production, and regards it in so venial, and even so jocular a light, asks, "What does this curious paper say \*?" *Curious* I admit it is: what it *says* is palpable to the intellect of every one who reads it. It is sufficiently insulting to excite resentment; it is sufficiently intelligible to awaken suspicion; it is sufficiently declaratory to require explanation.

Things began now to wear a serious complexion. France had indiscreetly promulgated her intentions. She had plainly demonstrated that her ultimate object was war, but that her previous design was to tarnish our fame, to enfeeble us by negotiation, and to stir up a spirit of implacable vengeance among her people, by endeavouring to persuade them that we were the aggressors, the violators of public faith, the oppressors of defenceless states, and an impetuous, ambitious, and perfidious race, with whom it was utterly impossible to live on terms of amity and good-will. This, indeed, was the evident policy of France. She had objects of moment to accomplish before war could be declared with advantage. The departure of the expedition from Helvoetsluys, the termination of the troubles

in her colonies, the return of her West India fleet: these were all matters of importance. Nor was she, in other respects, in a state of competent preparation. She had not yet sufficiently recovered from the severe shocks which she had sustained in the course of the last war. She had also the re-establishment of her manufactures, the revival of her commerce, and the restoration of her navy, very much at heart. Thus, although she had afforded positive indications of her intention to renew hostilities, it was nearly as clear that her design was to wait till she had matured those manifold arrangements which would ensure the likelihood of waging them with success: and it was only her mistaken notion of our faculties and courage, acted upon by her un governable desire of revenge, that betrayed her into an error which she may long have occasion to mourn.

When, however, she found that we were so sensitive; that we were not so completely sunk in lethargy; that we had some sense of honour, and some energy of action, left; that, although we were disposed to bear a good deal, there was a point beyond which we might be provoked to resistance: when she discovered all this, she, at the same moment, discovered the folly of her conduct. She then perceived that she had taken an injudicious and precipitate step; that she had

prematurely disclosed her plans; and that an immediate war might involve her in difficulties, from which she would not easily extricate herself. These, and these alone, were her reasons for wishing to temporize, to amuse us by promises, and to delay for a few months the single-handed experiment. But it was now too late: the Rubicon was passed. We now saw into her real character; and goaded and wearied out as we had been by the unworthy situation in which we had so long been mocked, we became impatient, and peremptory in our turn. The French refusing to comply, and still aiming to gain time by a repetition of the tricks by which they had already deluded us, a period was at last put to negotiation, and war commenced.

If this country had been influenced by the councils, and guided by the accommodating politics, of our author, we might, I grant, have remained a little longer at peace; because we should have continued yielding till we had nothing left to yield, rather than have taken up arms in vindication of our rights. The French might have seized the whole of the continent—that, in our author's opinion, did not concern *us*! they might have gained possession of Malta, and of all the islands in the Adriatic, the Archipelago, and the Mediterranean—they were not worth contending for!—they might

have conquered Egypt, and have added it indissolubly to their European empire—our fears, respecting any injury which might arise from that quarter to our Indian possessions, were perfectly preposterous ! In short, had we followed our author's judgment, we might have waited till the power of France became so gigantic and so consolidated, so rich in resources, so abundant in means, so provided on every side with weapons of defence and attack, that the political existence of this country would have depended on her charity. Lying thus at her mercy, we should have been the abject slaves of her meanest passions, and the humble suitors for any benefits which her despotic will condescended to grant. We should have been at the disposal of a tyrant whose most fervent and most constant wish is our destruction ; and who, in every thing that regarded *us*, in obedience to the governing impulse of his nature, would have consulted his vengeance in preference to his interest.

Now it had been, till of late years, the uniform policy of all the leading powers of Europe, throughout their history, at least ever since their civilization, to adhere pretty steadily to a certain principle of action, which had in view the preservation of a political balance. This wise conduct, whilst it was consistent with the general good, tended also to their own individual security

and happiness. Thus, when any particular state was aiming at an augmentation of strength which was likely to endanger the independence or disturb the tranquillity of the rest, confederacies were immediately formed to terminate its encroachment and circumscribe its ambition. The desire of self-preservation is the strongest impulse of humanity. It operates on communities as well as individuals, and is equally acknowledged by the maxims of morality and the precepts of religion. An impulse, so authorized and so universal, cannot possibly be at variance with any constitution of things that is founded in justice or nature; and if we could suppose any conventional law that attempted to contravene so positive and indisputable a right, we should be at no loss to decide which ought to preponderate. But the practice of mankind has seldom called this right in question; and it has ever been allowed by the most enlightened statesmen, the most learned jurists, and even the most romantic metaphysicians; that the mere circumstance of a nation rapidly becoming more powerful than any of its neighbours, is not only a cause of remonstrance, but, if that be disregarded, a justification of attack. It is, indeed, the uniform operation of these general principles which has been the chief means of preserving, through so many centuries, the same division of Europe.



To maintain, therefore, that France *has the right* to trample down all these fences, and set at contemptuous defiance all these established rules, sanctioned as they have been by the wisdom and consent of ages, merely because it is *her will and pleasure so to do*; and that, whilst she is swallowing up the weaker states, domineering over extensive territories, transferring people, like cattle, from one master to another, without consulting their prejudices or interests, and almost reversing the order of nature: whilst she is, moreover, evidently committing these flagitious acts of violence, as a preparatory step to a more successful attack on the general liberties of the human race, to maintain that *we*, a near neighbour and an eternal rival, *have no right* to interfere, is assuming a doctrine which is not only resisted by every motive of discretion and self-defence, but which is in direct contradiction to the acknowledged maxims either of natural, conventional, or public law, and to the common practice and experience of mankind. As, therefore, by opposing this novel system there is no breach of morality, no infringement of privilege, no deviation from custom, or no violation of nature, there can be no reason of policy which ought to superinduce our departure from what, abstractedly considered, is a self-evident axiom,

and, relatively considered, is a most sacred and essential duty.

Our author expresses his surprise that we should entertain so strong a conception of the immediate designs of the First Consul upon Egypt, "though he repeatedly avers he has none\*." But though he disavowed *immediate* designs, did he not declare to Lord Whitworth that he had *designs*—that, *sooner or later*, Egypt would belong to France, and that Sebastiani's mission was not merely a *commercial* one, as Talleyrand had represented it, but a *military* one†? What then were we to understand from the general tenour of his conversation? What, but that the possession of Egypt was one of his darling objects, and that he would gratify himself the moment he could accomplish

\* Page 22.

† Correspondence, No. 38.—We find, more than once, in the course of the Correspondence, the master and the minister at variance in their professions, and the impetuous temper of Buonaparte destroying the crafty designs of Talleyrand. Buonaparte is also full of duplicity; but he is more impatient of control, and more easily thrown off his guard. When, however, he inadvertently betrays his real sentiments, he only confirms our opinion of the profligacy of his character. None of the remaining independent continental powers (if such they can still be called) will, I hope, forget his proposal to form a junction with us, and, with the assistance and co-operation of his army and our fleet, to divide the spoils of the world.

it with safety? Even Talleyrand admitted, “that the acquisition of Egypt had been, and perhaps *still was*, a favourite object of the First Consul\*,”—“that the jealousy we felt on the score of Egypt, with a view to our possessions in India, was natural†;” and although our author can perceive no foundation for such a feeling, I think, of the two opinions, that of the French minister, especially as it was an admission to his own prejudice, is entitled to the greatest deference.

Our author next finds fault with the final proposal, and, quite regardless of circumstances or facts, reprobates our conduct in the severest terms. “The French,” he says, “ask in amazement, Is there an example in the records of history, of so imperious an ultimatum‡?” To this question I shall merely refer *them* to their *own records* for an answer. But *our author* passes the same judgment, and, with affected candour, adds, “Let us cast away prejudice and partiality, and

\* Correspondence, No. 40.

† No. 37.—What did Talleyrand’s proposed project, by which the integrity of the Turkish empire was to be *effectually* secured, turn out to be? Why, forsooth, that the French Ambassador at Constantinople had been “charged to give every assurance of the disposition of France to strengthen, instead of to weaken, that government.” This was a pretty kind of *substantial security*, and *very satisfactory*.—Correspondence, No. 40,

‡ Page 23.

ask, was it *not* a most imperious ultimatum?" As for our author's *prejudice and partiality*, I can discover none that he has to cast away, except what is in favour of the French; and of that kind, I own, I can discover a considerable quantity. But *my* answer to the question is, that, so far from thinking the ultimatum a *most imperious one*, I think it, considering what had passed, a *most mild one*; and this I shall also prove.

In consequence of the numerous aggressions of France, which, according to the acknowledged basis on which the definitive treaty was established, entitled us to compensation; in consequence of still further views declared, in several official documents, by the government of France; and in consequence of the total impracticability of fulfilling the arrangement relative to the cession of Malta; we, in order to bring to an amicable settlement these complicated subjects of dispute, and to set our minds at rest respecting the future designs of France on Egypt, proposed that Malta should remain ours in perpetuity; and that Holland and Switzerland should be evacuated by French troops. In return, we offered to confirm to France the possession of the island of Elba, and to acknowledge the King of Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian republics\*. This was surely moderate enough, when

\* Correspondence, No. 50.

regarded as a satisfaction and a counterpoise for the immense continental acquisitions of France ; a right founded on formal agreement, and which Talleyrand, even in discussing this very point, had willingly admitted †. This proposal was made on the 7th of April 1803, at Paris. On the 13th, Rheinhardt's libel in the *Hamburgh Gazette* was known in London, with all the circumstances attending that scandalous publication ‡. On the same day, however, notwithstanding this fresh provocation, finding that the French had declared, that their objection to our perpetual retention of Malta was insuperable, Lord Hawkesbury instructed Lord Whitworth, if he found their reluctance to the first proposition could not be overcome, to offer two others, should circumstances render it advisable, as modifications. By the first of these it is stipulated, that, instead of complete sovereignty, the civil government of the island shall be given to the Order of St. John, but that the fortifications shall be occupied in perpetuity by his Majesty's troops ; by the second, that the island shall remain in our possession for a limited number of years ||. Was not this sufficiently temperate, and did it not plainly demonstrate a sincere desire, on the part of the British government, to

† Correspondence, No. 53.

‡ No. 55.

|| No. 56.

bring the business to a speedy and conciliatory issue?

On the 17th of April, Lord Whitworth had an interview with Joseph Buonaparte, when, the first proposition having been absolutely rejected, he submitted the second to his consideration. This was also objected to, and regarded as an insurmountable impediment. The last proposition, however, which Lord Whitworth had received orders to produce, as occasion might require, was forestalled by Buonaparte's brother, who said, "that he was not without hope that he might be authorized to propose the occupation of the fortresses for a term of years\*." Talleyrand also, the same morning, suggested to Lord Whitworth the same mode of coming to an arrangement†. It thus appears, that the principal clause of this ultimatum, which our author affirms is so outrageously arrogant, originated with the French government; and that, after concert and deliberation, the identical proposition, in the identical language, came from two of the First Consul's most confidential advisers. Here then were strong grounds of hope that an adjustment would shortly take place. The following evening Lord Whitworth again saw Joseph Buonaparte, who assured him "that he should hear from Talleyrand in the course of the

\* Correspondence, No. 58.

† Ibid.

next morning, and that a meeting would be appointed, in order to settle the *term of years* for which the First Consul might be induced to consent to the cession of Malta\*." Talleyrand, however, never came; and on the 20th, no further notice having been taken of the appointment, not even a line of apology sent, Lord Whitworth wrote to his Court for fresh orders †. Three days were suffered to elapse in this mortifying and embarrassing state of suspense, when our Ambassador, hearing nothing more on the subject, on the 21st called on Talleyrand, who *still* encouraged the idea of an arrangement on the basis of a temporary possession ‡. As there had now been ample time for consultation in the French cabinet, things apparently bore a very promising aspect; but on seeing Talleyrand the very next day, Lord Whitworth was, to his utter astonishment, informed, "that the First Consul would, on no terms, hear either of a perpetual or a *temporary* possession of Malta ||." So that the moment they perceived we yielded one point, they pushed us to another. When we were persuaded to abandon *that*, they themselves proposed a third, which when we consented to, they abruptly put an end to the question, by telling us that we must give up every thing. The ulti-

\* Correspondence, No. 59. † Ibid. ‡ No. 61. || Ibid.

matum sent by our Court was the consequence of this shuffling perfidy, in which, instead of rising in our demands, we strictly adhered to the very proposition which had been started by the French government; and even, in order to save the honour of France, at which our author is so indignant, we made an additional concession, and proposed the secret article\*. Several other puerile contrivances were afterwards resorted to by the French cabinet to renew the negotiation on a different ground, which were evidently only intended to gain time. We demanded a categorical answer: none was returned: Lord Whitworth consequently left Paris, and the following week the war commenced †.

Hostilities, which I have proved we were, throughout the negotiation, so studious to avoid, being thus decreed, our peaceable and patriotic

\* Correspondence, No. 70.

† It should be recollected, that Talleyrand had, so far back as the 11th of March 1803, declared to Lord Whitworth in express terms, that the First Consul *should always consider the refusal to evacuate Malta as a commencement of hostilities*; that he at the time delivered a most offensive and outrageous note §; that the French government had, by every possible insult, provoked us to the measure; and that, even after it was delivered, Lord Whitworth still shewed a desire of explanation, till he was absolutely forced to his departure by the shuffling perfidy and contemptuous treatment of the French ministers.

§ Correspondence, No. 42.



author expresses a hope that they may be abridged by the friendly interposition of Russia. I also wish, and most ardently too, that the war may be a short one; but I fancy we should differ materially in our manner of bringing it to a conclusion. Now, with regard to the interference of Russia, or indeed of any other continental power, after what has happened we cannot surely be too wary in listening to any overtures which may come from so suspicious a quarter. After the manner in which these states have betrayed and deserted their own interests—after the mutual fears and jealousies which have been manifested, and which have operated as an hindrance towards any common effort for their common salvation—after the pusillanimous submission, whether friendship or fear be pleaded, it matters not, which they have uniformly displayed towards France—after the little regard they have shewn for public faith, and the indifferent facility with which they have evaded or cancelled the most solemn and deliberate acts, the policy of this country is too obvious to be mistaken.

We have unhappily discovered, that such is the profligate wickedness of the political creed of the French government, that a written engagement, accompanied with every sanctified and ceremonious formality, is worth no more than the parchment on which it is engrossed. We

must therefore look to other securities, and, since we have been again compelled to resort to arms by the insatiable ambition and abandoned perfidy of the present usurper of France, I trust that the Government of this country will give ear to no terms, from whatever quarter they may come, unless they be such as will, to a *certainly*, prevent at least a *speedy* recurrence of the miseries of war. With or without the mediation of other powers (for we are neither bound by gratitude, nor constrained by necessity, to look up to them), we shall, I trust, take care to retain in our own keeping such securities as will, to a moral certainty, obviate a repetition of past mortifications, and command a fair prospect of honourable and undisturbed repose.

Our author says, "If we persist in rejecting all conciliatory projects from Russia, who has marked a disapproval of our conduct, what must Europe think of us? How will the Dutch feel the situation we have brought them into? the Swiss, the Romans, the Neapolitans \*?" And pray, under what particular obligations are we to these enchained and unhappy countries? We may wish, as we certainly do, from policy, as well as humanity, to rescue them from the cruel scourge of French domination; but surely we

may be allowed to act without consulting them, nor is it at all requisite that our conduct should quadrate with theirs. What will the different countries of Europe think of *us*? Why, in spite of their envy or their hatred, they must think, that we are a great and magnanimous people, worthy of the rights we enjoy, and, I had almost said, of the pre-eminent blessings by which the bounty of Providence has distinguished us. But let them chiefly think of *themselves*, and not be perplexed about us, except in the view of contrasting *our* conduct with *theirs*, and of profiting by our glorious example. Let them think, that the very names of many of them are blotted from the map of Europe. Let them think of their former greatness, independence, prosperity, and happiness, and of their present grovelling slavery. Let them think, that if they had but done as much for themselves as we have done for them, they might have escaped the indiscriminate plunder of avarice, the desolating cruelty of revenge, and the galling despotism of a foreign yoke: and let such thoughts stimulate them to exertions which may yet redeem them from the misery and ignominy under which they have long been languishing.

Our author next attempts to prove that Malta is of very little consequence, though he admits the probability of the French having taken

possession of it, had it been evacuated by our troops. Egypt he regards nearly in the same light, though he also admits, that it would, perhaps, have become a French colony if we had not interfered. But if the French considered them of such importance, as to run the risk of going to war for their attainment, it is at least a proof of *their* opinion of their value. He then enters into a kind of Cretan labyrinth, to explain the difficulty of Buonaparte's getting to India, and, above all, of driving us out; and concludes with this consolatory remark, that "even granting that he has overcome every obstacle, and really driven us out of the Indies, shall we pay so bad a compliment to, think so meanly of, our resources, as to affirm we shall even then be ruined and undone \*?" I really think we *should* be; for if we had not the courage to go to war for the preservation of such objects, we should not only, by their loss, be deprived of an immense source of prosperity and wealth, but all sense of honour, and all love of glory, would be already extinct; and the moment the French summoned our own island to submit, we should, in all probability, surrender it. But not being quite so spiritless and reduced, not being so totally lost to all sense of infamy and shame, what

\* Page 27.

should we have gained by an immediate compliance with the haughty demands of France relative to the evacuation of Malta? Why this: instead of British troops, French troops would at this moment have had possession of that celebrated fortress, from which we are daily deriving such signal advantages; and the renewal of hostilities might have been deferred till that event took place, which, in all likelihood, would have happened in the course of a month or six weeks, for I cannot bring myself to believe (even if Government had had earlier the benefit of our author's advice) that we should have allowed them first to make the conquest of India, or even of Egypt. But our prudent politician entertains an opposite class of opinions, and, so far from approving of our system of opposing Buonaparte in his schemes, says, "Should he persist in his wild plans respecting Egypt, it would be the worst policy this country could adopt to obstruct them\*." I really wonder he did not go a little farther, and recommend our government sending him a British army, to enable him more firmly to establish his sway.

Our author, whom I have now traced, and I think I may venture to say, confuted, through all his most important passages, started with a

\* Page 28.

set of erroneous notions, to which he has, throughout his tract, adhered with the most unconquerable pertinacity. But his premises being false, even admitting that, in some few instances (for I will not grant him many), his reasoning is just, his conclusions must still bear the counterfeit stamp of the materials from which they have been derived. He says we have broken our faith respecting Malta. I say *we have not*. Here we are completely at issue: but, unfortunately for him, he has only the whimsies of his own brain to refer to; whereas I am supported by the incontrovertible evidence of facts, and the treaty.

At this time, it would be useless to go at any greater length into the question. Every body has read the Correspondence, and, setting apart a few wrong-headed, and I may add *wrong-hearted*, individuals, whom no conviction can reclaim, I have with me, not only respecting the policy, but the *absolute necessity*, of the present war, an united nation. It is not an intricate problem, wrapped up in mystery and doubt, requiring any peculiar subtlety of reason to unravel, or any peculiar force of comprehension to understand; but it is a plain and palpable proposition, open to general observation, and to the conception of which the most obtuse, as well as the most enlightened, mind is equally com-

petent. This being the case, and not only general, but, with a very few exceptions, universal opinion running in the same channel, one may surely, without arrogance, pronounce him to be wrong (whatever his own notions of his superior judgment and penetration may be), who puts in his dissentient voice.

There is one important charge contained in the Declaration, which our author (considering it, no doubt, as unworthy of remark) has entirely overlooked. I allude to the outrageous indignity offered personally by Buonaparte, at his own court, in the presence of the foreign ministers and two hundred people, to the British Ambassador, who had come, as a mark of civility, to pay him his respects. This was the opportunity which the upstart First Consul selected, grossly to insult the representative of one of the first crowned heads in Europe, and to accuse the British government of a breach of faith. "*Ils ne respectent pas les traités. Il faut d'orénavant les couvrir de crepe noir. Malheur à ceux qui ne respectent pas les traités* \*." Such were the phrases which he uttered, adding menace to reproof. If such a charge, in such language, could, under any circumstances, be justified, no one can pretend to defend or extenuate it as it stands; and

\* Correspondence, No. 43.

it is, incontrovertibly, the most indecent dereliction of all ceremony and decorum that is on record. And what was his apology? An assurance that nothing similar should again occur\*. Was this satisfaction for such an outrage? To draw an illustration from private life, it might as well be maintained, that if one man pull another by the nose, and promise never to do it again, he has made every reparation which the laws of honour require. What was it then but an aggravation of the insult?

Our author, as if sensible that the opinions he has supported, and the doctrines he has broached, are such as are not unlikely to create some irritation in the feelings of his countrymen, towards the conclusion, testifies a little compunction, and, in order to make some atonement, and to prevail on his readers to lay him aside with less ill-humour and disgust, to our great surprise informs us, that "his opinion of the Chief Consul differs but little from that of the generality of mankind; that he feels equally with others, the injustice of his usurpation, and the rigour of his despotism; and if what he is accused of is true, of which he fears there is hardly a doubt, there are few epithets that can be bestowed upon him fouler than he deserves †." And, to prove

\* Correspondence, No. 46.

† Page 27.



that he should rejoice if he had paid the forfeit of his crimes, for the benefit of scholars, he favours us with a Greek quotation.

His conclusion is still more extraordinary. After having exerted, through the course of *twenty-nine* closely-printed pages, all his ingenuity to persuade the country that the government has been violent, hasty, treacherous, and, in every instance, completely in the wrong, he reserves *one* to tell us that he wishes them success. After having strenuously endeavoured to render them culpable in the eyes of the nation for having gone to war, and, as far as indifference or opposition could be stirred up by the diffusion of such sentiments, to throw every impediment in their way, he says, "Far be it from me to impede the chance of that desirable event, a reasonable peace, by disturbing the operations of Government, or checking the energies of the country \*." Fortunately *that* is beyond the reach of his ability: but I will put the question flatly to him, by what means could he have more artfully or more industriously striven to accomplish mischief, and disseminate discontent, than by those he has pursued in his work? With this observation I shall dismiss him, and, after two or three additional remarks, shall quit a sub-

\* Page 29.

ject which has been, in various ways, so amply discussed, and which is so generally understood.

I have no scruple in saying, that I regard the present war (and I know that I am joined by the almost unanimous opinion of my country) as a war into which (after every testimony of sincerity and moderation to which it was possible for an independent government to stoop) we have been absolutely forced, by the shameless aggression, intolerable insolence, abandoned perfidy, and wicked ambition, of the tyrant of France; as a war not only necessary to our prosperity, our honour, and our defence, but to our very salvation and existence; and which, so far from being a subject of reprobation or regret, is the only event that could snatch us from bondage and perdition. Buonaparte, if he had acted with common caution, such was, for a long time, our unsuspecting flexibility, might have ensnared us; but the impetuosity of his passions, the irritability of his temper, the absurdity of his vanity, and the madness of his ambition, prevailed over all political prudence, and disclosed his views before they were ripe for execution. His character is now completely revealed. It is before the world, stripped of the load of tinsel which screened it from the eyes of the common observer, and is exposed, in its genuine colours, to the contemplation of the multitude. Divested of the gaudy

trappings with which success had decorated it, it is now an object of universal abhorrence and execration. The public spirit of this country has also taken deep root. Loyalty and patriotism have arisen, and pervade the great body of the people, who are convinced of the necessity of cordially uniting in defence of their common rights, to save their common country from becoming a prey to perhaps the worst man that fortune ever raised from obscurity to extended rule. His ill-judged rupture with this land of freemen will probably curtail his desolating career; and, obedient as we are to the exhortations of duty, we may confidently look forward to a prosperous, and, if things are conducted with vigour and skill, to a speedy, termination of the conflict.

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**A REJOINDER,**

A  
**R E J O I N D E R**  
 TO THE  
**REPLY**  
 OF THE AUTHOR OF  
**"WHY DO WE GO TO WAR?"**

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The garbling of quotations is the greatest offence, of which an author can be guilty, either to his adversary, or to his readers.

*MARSH'S Rejoinder to the anonymous Author of the  
 Remarks on Michaelis and his Commentator.*

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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**I**N the second edition of my pamphlet, in consequence of the additions I have made, I have been obliged to alter the numeration of the pages. To save trouble, and prevent confusion, I have, however, in the passages I have noticed, marked, among the references, the pages in which they are to be found, both in the first and second editions.

A

## R E J O I N D E R,

&amp;c.

I AM sorry that the author of the six monosyllables, "Why do we go to War?" appears to be so exasperated at a few suspicions which I threw out in the *first* edition of my Answer to his work, and I lament it the more, as I fear that the irritation which he has betrayed must continue; for, in spite of his angry tones, I have neither cancelled nor retracted them in the *second*. As far as my own judgment enables me to decide, they are founded on inferences which are clearly and fairly deducible from his manner of treating his subject, and, of course, are such as I stand completely justified in using.

Notwithstanding the palpable perfidy, extravagant ambition, and overbearing insolence of

France, and the sincerity and cautious moderation, not to say *humility*, of the British cabinet, which are strikingly apparent in almost every page of the Official Correspondence, the author of the Gallican pamphlet has thought proper to endeavour, in *every instance*, to exculpate France at the expense of Britain, and to throw the odium and guilt of the present war *entirely* on his own country. This, I say, he has *attempted* to do; and if, in *every instance*, he have *totally* failed, it has not been from slackness of zeal. I have only combated and refuted his opinions and misrepresentations, on a question of the highest importance to every member of the British community; and, if I have any where expressed myself in a manner at all ungracious to his feelings, I am sure that the sentiments which he has uttered have fully authorized me so to do \*. He has thrown out abuse, and, what

\* When a political writer embraces an opinion which is injurious to his country, and, professing to found that opinion on public official documents, in order to give a speciousness to his labours, displays that kind of patient examination and keen research, which are requisite to enable him to select from a large mass of papers, those passages which are *most favourable*, and to reject those which are *most adverse* to his design; it cannot well be imputed to want of deliberation, or even to excusable fallibility, if he determine wrong. Why, in the instance before us, have so many unconnected and incongruous passages been forced together, whilst intermediate ones, which are ten times

is more mischievous, abuse unsupported by fact, not only against the government, but against the *people* of this country; and few, I fancy, have perused his work, without emotions either of indignation or contempt. In what manner could he more plainly have designated his enmity to Britain, especially at a moment like this, when

more material to the elucidation of the question, have been perverted from their meaning, or totally suppressed? Why has not a fair and candid inquiry been instituted? Why has not the argument been logically stated, and some attention bestowed on the construction and adaptation of analogous parts? Why has it not been reviewed in all its bearings and relations, and those deductions extracted, which are the natural result? This is certainly the duty of every author, the object of whose inquiries is *truth*; and he who *willingly* deviates from it, is not only guilty of *garbling and misrepresentation*, but lays himself open to the charge of having stated a conclusion, for some factious purpose, against his own conviction. Far be it from me to wish to prescribe bounds to the spirit of investigation; and so sacred do I hold the freedom of discussion, that, of two evils, I would prefer a *licentious* to a *licensed*, press. In this land of rational liberty there is, however, a reasonable latitude allowed by law. Every man, as long as he keeps within the necessary rules of common decency, may blame as freely as he may praise, and, with equal safety, may support or oppose the measures of Government. Should it ever be otherwise, should private sentiments be ever liable to the control of the strong arm of executive power; it is my firm opinion, that our liberties would not long survive the restraint; for it is on the publicity and variety of individual opinion, that general information, which is one of the great bulwarks of political freedom, chiefly depends.



she is struggling for her existence, and when every well-wisher to her cause is contributing every aid in his power to invigorate the arms, and animate the hearts of her sons, than by the pains that he has taken to obscure those documents, which were published as a guide to national opinion, and which, in truth, afford the most irrefragable evidence of the justice and necessity, on our part, of the present war? And for what purpose has he done it? To criminate England, and to weaken her sacred cause; and to justify the perfidy and usurpation of revolutionary and atheistical France.

Even if our cause had been the reverse of what it is, and weak as it is now strong, I should still think, that, at such a momentous crisis as the present, when we are contending for every blessing of political independence, of civil liberty, and of domestic life, for our religion, our laws, our constitution, and our king, nay, for the very air which we breathe, and the soil which nourishes us; against the most unprincipled, relentless, and perilous foe, that ever appeared against us; no prudent or *good* citizen would strive to weaken it still more, by the promulgation of opinions, such as he has so pompously detailed. I have, at least ever since I have thought for myself, been in the habit of regarding my country as a kind of protector, a faithful

friend, an affectionate parent, to feel all her wrongs, to share all her afflictions, to mourn for her losses, to rejoice at her successes, and to participate in her prosperity and glory. And if this close connexion, in which I have ever felt so much pride and satisfaction, would never induce me (as it certainly never would) to make a sacrifice of truth in her favour; yet, in a dubious case, I should, from a natural, and I trust no dishonourable partiality, be inclined to lean to her side; and, on such a question as the present, circumstanced as we *now* are, if I could not assist her, I would at least be silent.

One of the accusations which I brought against the first pamphlet of our author, and which I alleged as my chief reason for answering it, was, that it had a mischievous purpose \*, and might, by falling into the hands of the illiterate, be productive of bad consequences: and he himself seems to admit, that if it got into circulation among ignorant people, it might be attended with “injurious effects †.” What is this but an acknowledgment of the validity of my imputation? I said that it was calculated to do mischief among the lower classes; he, at least by inference, grants that it might. Thus, so far from disproving the charge,

\* Reason Why, page 4 in both editions.

† See additional leaf to the second edition of *Why do we go to War?*

he corroborates it by the additional testimony of a voluntary confession. He, however, endeavours to shelter himself from the chief obloquy of the reproach by saying "that it was never addressed to the lower orders," but "speaks rather to the magnates of the realm." Now *magnates* \* (I know not why he has not explained himself in English), in its literal acceptation, means the *Peers of the realm*, to the exclusion of the House of Commons, the country gentlemen, merchants, bankers, manufacturers, &c.: but, granting that an improper term has been selected, I will suppose, that he intended to include at least the two first. Yet why he should imagine that *his* work is so peculiarly adapted to the privileged and higher classes of the state is still more enigmatical. The paper, the type, the price, the language, is certainly not above plebeian capacity; and as for the sentiments, it is only among the *lower* classes, who have not the nice discrimination of men of education, or the leisure to enter into critical investigation, that there can be any hope of their being received: and as it is generally the ambition

\* In Hungary and Poland, where Latin is almost a vernacular tongue, this word, which is not of classical authority, frequently occurs; but, so far from having the general meaning which our author would give it, it is not even extended to the whole body of nobility, but only to the first class, and to officers of state and of the highest public trust.

of an author to give a currency to his opinions, I should naturally have concluded, if he had not told us the contrary, that it was chiefly designed for *them*. Perhaps, however, he left a positive injunction with his bookseller, that if a shabby-looking fellow, with a ragged coat, came to ask for his pamphlet, on no account to let him have it, for *him* it might corrupt; but if a well-dressed gentleman, or a fashionable lady, made the same application, to recommend it by all means, and get off as many copies as possible; for *them* it must edify and inform.

Our author has, at length, published his promised "Reply;" but if he expects a diffuse rejoinder from me, he will be disappointed; for although it would not cost me *much* time or pains to produce one, yet, trifling as they would be, it would be a wanton prodigality and misapplication of both, which I am not disposed to make. In his original work, I answered, and I think, disproved every position which he advanced, as far as concerned the public, and myself as a part of that public. As for any altercation, merely for the sake of displaying the powers of abuse, *that* is totally foreign from my purpose: it cannot be very interesting to the generality of readers, nor shall I condescend to enter into it. I will, on that score, cheerfully allow to my antagonist all the merit which can possibly attach

to that kind of superiority. With regard to his present publication, to many parts, what I have already said is a sufficient answer: in other parts, he has saved me some trouble by confuting himself: on others again, which are more mysteriously wrapped up, but not nearer the truth, it will be necessary to offer a few observations.

It is very evident, from the pettish manner in which he sets out in his "Reply," that he is excessively out of humour with me, because I sifted, exposed, and refuted, his original work. Had I advocated the cause of France, instead of being a *hireling* (which, according to *his* interpretation of the epithet, must mean a friend to my country), I should, no doubt, have been a well-bred gentleman, a polished scholar, an acute politician, the assertor of truth, and the champion of liberty; but, as I am not very anxious about this gentleman's praise or censure, I would rather remain as I am.

In his encounter with *two* opponents (rather a rash step for *him* to take), I have the honour (if such it can be accounted) of chiefly attracting his notice, and at me, he levels both his *small* arms and *heavy* artillery; but, although he keeps up a constant fire, he expends his ammunition to no purpose; for from a want of *weight* in the one, and of *expedition* in the other, he uniformly

misses his aim. Really, if every friend to Britain were to fight *for* her cause, as miserably as he argues *against* it, we should be in a deplorable state indeed.

A very cursory review of his "Reply," will, I think, be sufficient to silence him; or, if he think proper to say any thing further, unless he shew more ingenuity or more sense, I will promise not to molest his future repose. He manages his new work in a manner which, if we had not seen a specimen of his method and perspicuity in his first pamphlet, I might be induced to call *strange*: for he not only goes backwards and forwards with *pages*, as he does in his original work with *dates*, totally regardless of arrangement or time, but, having garbled the Correspondence to answer his purpose in his first performance, he now garbles my answer with the same design; and not only passes over, without notice, those parts which are strongest against him, but, over and over again, ventures to mark with inverted commas as *my words*, what is partly his own fabrication, and in language such as I should feel disgraced at having written.

After giving me, by way of proving that *he* is a gentleman, a volley of abuse, he reproaches *me*\* with having taken "above two months"

\* Page 3.

to produce my pamphlet, and, to establish the veracity of his assertion, pretends to have forgotten the date at which his *own* issued from the press. This is really a convenient kind of memory, and opportunely enough called to his aid. But no wonder he is an enemy to dates. Now, whether I took *two months*, or *two days* (which last, by the by, I can assure him is very near the mark), to write my answer, it is so very immaterial to the argument, that I shall not employ *two minutes* to convince him one way or the other.

Our author proceeds to what he aptly terms "the wearisome task of going over once more the different charges\*." If *he* find it *wearisome*, his readers, I fear, will not find it less so; and as I can discover little or no novelty in his opinions, I shall not *weary myself* by the repetition of so dull a pursuit. In two or three passages, however, he asserts that I have mistated facts; which is so grievous an offence, that I must, in my own vindication, notice them, and unmask the very handsome mode which has been adopted of substantiating the charge.

Alluding to the demand which was made by France to dismiss the French emigrants, he says that I assert, "it was *repeatedly* urged by the French, and as *repeatedly* rejected by us†."

\* Page 8.

† Page 13.

So far he is correct; but, continues he, by way of invalidating my assertion, "it seems to have been but *once* officially and formally urged," insinuating that I had employed those terms. Now I say nothing about *officially and formally*, I merely say *repeatedly urged and repeatedly rejected*, which certainly was the case. I will, however, go farther than is necessary for my own justification, and, if our author will take the trouble of referring to numbers 7 and 12 of the Official Correspondence, he will find that it was more than *once* even *officially and formally* urged.

The next point our author attacks is the discussions which took place relative to the liberty of the press. He says "it is stated that" (marking what follows as a quotation) "the French government *repeatedly* urged, that the laws and constitution of this country should be changed relative to the liberty of the press\*," but, not informing us whence the quotation is extracted, we are left in the dark. To prove, however, his own consistency, and that it was *not* urged more than *once*, he tells us, in the following page, that it was urged a *second* and a *third* time. He omits noticing the complaints of Andreossi, which are the *fourth* instance that I mention.

But though he suppresses what Andreossi ad-

\* Page 13.



vanced relative to the freedom of the press, he admits that the French Ambassador *did* find fault with "the speeches of some leading Members of Parliament." This, however, our author, actuated, no doubt, by a just respect for the British constitution, considers as no "very unreasonable request\*"; so that, the grand privilege of freedom of debate, which the Speaker, in the name of the Commons of the United Kingdom, at the opening of every new Parliament, demands of the *King in person*, and which no King of England, I hope, will ever venture to refuse, our author would have controlled by the frivolous complaints of a *French Ambassador* †.

He next accuses me of *slinking* from his re-examination ‡. It was, no doubt, very prudent

\* Page 15.

† An application of this kind was as ridiculous as it was impertinent. By the nature of our constitution, the proceedings of Parliament are published to the world, and, so far from bearing the construction of an act of Government, the sentiments which are there delivered, are as frequently in opposition to it, as in its favour. At all events, they can be no more subject to reprehension, without the walls of the House, than the discussions which take place in the Privy Council would be, should any person present reveal them. Nothing, in fact, can be considered as an act of Government, but what passes through the usual organ of communication, or is authenticated by those forms which custom or the constitution prescribes.

‡ Page 20.

in *him* to insert it, to swell out his pamphlet; but, after I had refuted every argument which it contains, why would he have me tire out and disgust my readers by a recapitulation of *his* absurdities?

A little farther on, he returns to his favourite subject the press. He says, "He" (calling him our *enemy*, although he was then our *friend*, at least our *pretended* friend) "solicits us, since we have ceased hostilities with the sword, to cease hostilities with the tongue and with the pen; but we refuse to keep our abuse even *within bounds*. And tell him (quoting the Reason Why), *he may go to law*." Now although I never said that we answered him in those identical words, or in that coarse and abrupt manner, yet we certainly told him something to that effect. And what other method would our author have had us pursue? Would he have put a *British subject*, for such a fault, *out* of the protection of the law? Would he have had a *British subject*, in defiance of the law, sacrificed to the splenetic rage or arrogant pretensions of a *Corsican usurper*? Would he have had a *British subject* dragged from his bed in the dead of night, and delivered up, gagged and bound, to the *Paris police*? Better at once re-establish the Star-chamber, with all its terrific proceedings, in this country! Really this *friend* to the freedom of the press

and the liberties of the people maintains his character with a suspicious awkwardness.

Our author now proceeds by giving us some very curious information. He says, "As to the commissaries, we *kick* them out of the country." "We further tell him" (meaning our *enemy*, or our *friend*, or M. Otto, or M. Talleyrand, or Andreossi, for he does not tell us which), "You have had the impudence to publish an impertinent and daring manifesto, an injurious libel, in the *Hamburgh Gazette*."—"He replies, I beg pardon, it is really a mistake; it was not with my consent, with my knowledge. We tell him he *lies* \*, and *attempt* to knock him down. We say again, you have had the insolence to declare we cannot fight you single-handed. Audacious boaster! we will put it to the test, is our reply †." Now where our author obtained this *very* curious intelligence, I own I am quite at a loss to conceive; and if he had not informed us, that it passed between the representatives of Great Britain and France, I should really have imagined, that it was some dialogue which had been over-

\* It is but fair to observe, that our author does allow in a note, that this particular phrase of "he lies" was not used, but that something *tantamount* passed; so that we are given to understand, that it is only to be considered as *his own* elegant mode of expressing some particular idea.

† Page 17.

heard on a boxing stage between two bottle-holders, preparatory to the grand match. But this, I suppose, is *one* of the parts of his present work, which is peculiarly recommended to the attention of the *magnates*, and which *sublimely soars* above the comprehension of the *vulgar*.

Respecting Malta, after a few general observations, he says, "I will not fatigue the reader by too minutely following the author of the Reason Why \*." Fearing to follow me through my analysis of this important branch of the question, he wisely evades the contest. But he does well, feeling himself already completely foiled. He grants, however, a few lines farther on, that the *other clauses* are obligatory as well as the provisional one; but, in the six following pages, as if he had designed to cancel his admission, but had forgotten to scratch it out, he attempts to fritter it away into a nonentity.

The next part of our author's "Reply," which I shall notice, is page 33, in which he exemplifies a signal instance of his candour and fairness; for he not only quotes my pamphlet incorrectly, but he cautiously suppresses those words of the official document to which I expressly allude, and on which he must be conscious that I found my evidence. He says, that I boast that Talley-

rand differed from him in opinion, and that he (Talleyrand) "allowed we had a justifiable pretext for the retention of Malta up to January 1803." But, adds our author, pursuing his attack, "let us see what Lord Whitworth says in the very letter referred to by this writer (Official Correspondence, Number 35)." He then makes an extract from the letter in these identical words: "Talleyrand, with *great solemnity*, required to be informed, and that by the *express orders* of the First Consul, what were his Majesty's intentions with regard to the evacuation of Malta, that the guarantees were *not* ready to come forward, except Russia, without whom the guaranty would be equally complete, and that consequently Great Britain would have *no pretext for keeping longer possession*."—The passage, however, in the Correspondence, which may be easily ascertained by a reference to it, stands, *in reality*, thus: "M. Talleyrand, with great solemnity, required of me to inform him, and this by the express order of the First Consul, what were his Majesty's intentions with regard to the evacuation of Malta." (Here follow six or seven lines which are irrelevant to the point I am arguing.) "He said, that another Grand Master would now very soon be elected; that all the powers of Europe invited so to do, with the exception of Russia, whose difficulties it was

easy to remove, and without whom the guaranty would be equally complete, were ready to come forward; and that, consequently, the term would very soon arrive, when Great Britain could have no pretext for keeping longer possession." On comparing these two extracts, although, at first view, they appear pretty similar, on a critical examination of them we discover several essential differences. Our author, it must be observed, in his falsified copy, has omitted several words of material import. He has omitted altogether that *another Grand Master would now very soon be elected*, which proves that he was not *already* elected. He has mutilated the following passage: "that all the powers of Europe invited so to do, with the exception of Russia, whose difficulties it was easy to remove, &c. were ready to come forward." He has here even fabricated the word *now*, which is not to be found in the original; and, in the last part, "that consequently the term would very soon arrive when Great Britain, &c." he has again omitted the words *very soon*. Now, certainly, when a man tells me, that, *very soon*, I shall no longer have a pretext for doing so and so, he admits that I have one *now*; and, if we had a pretext, we certainly had a right to avail ourselves of it, consequently it was a *justifiable* pretext. I did not mention *justifiable* as an epithet which Talleyrand had annexed, but as a conclusion of

my own ; and, by a reference to my pamphlet \*, it will be seen, that when I first state the question, I merely say *a pretext*. As for my asserting, that Talleyrand allowed that it would soon be removed, I did not quote these as the *words* of the French minister. I merely put the substance of his opinion in my own language ; and what wide distinction there can be between the phrases, “ the term would very soon arrive, when Great Britain could have no pretext for keeping longer possession,” and that, “ we had a pretext which would be speedily removed,” I must leave to the discriminating perspicuity of our author to elucidate. The charge of misrepresentation, therefore, in this instance (as I shall soon prove to be the case in every other), only recoils upon himself.

He says (page 35), he will not “ go deeper into the dispute about the Maltese inhabitants ;” and, in this instance, I give him credit for the soundness of his judgment, for he is *already* evidently beyond his depth.

In the next paragraph he notices, that Buonaparte did not wish to conceal his designs against Egypt ; that he even told Lord Whitworth ; and, adds our author, gifted no doubt with the unerring spirit of prophecy, “ *he told him true,*” “ that sooner or later he would be in possession of that coun-

\* Page 41 in the first edition, p. 47 in the second.

try\*." This is, no doubt, rather a bold assertion; and, recollecting himself, page 39, he prudently postpones the *fulfilment* of his prophecy to the distance of half a century. But whether as a prophet, a logician, or an historian, he is continually entangling himself in some fresh absurdity; and, in endeavouring to get out of one dilemma, he frequently falls into another. Thus, in the assertion just quoted, in avoiding contradiction by placing the accomplishment of his prophecy at so remote a period, he evidently forgets that he was all along talking of Buonaparte, who, being born in the year 1769, in 1853 (should he be so long preserved for the curse of mankind), will be in the 85th year of his age.

Our author, pursuing the same mode of argumentation in his second, as in his first publication, ejaculates every now and then, "Is this, then, a cause of war?" or words to that effect. On this manner of interrogation, I must beg leave to offer a few comments.

. In the systematic plan of aggression which France unremittingly pursued, although, rather than recommence hostilities, our government was for a long time disposed to make considerable sacrifices; yet, perceiving at last that non-resistance in them, instead of softening and conciliating, only generated additional insult and en-

\* Page 36.



encroachment on the part of France, they found it necessary (would that they had discovered their error earlier !) to check this haughty and overbearing disposition ; and, although the point at which they chose to make a stand, may fairly be regarded as *one* of the prominent causes of the war, that is not to say, that it was the *only* one. A tree, by a single stroke from an axe, may not receive much injury, but the blow frequently repeated, at last hews it to the ground ; and although the final stroke be the immediate occasion of its fall, the others, it must be allowed, have been of *some* consequence, and cannot be considered as *entirely* innocent of its fate.

Our author says, he “ pleads for peace, for the repose of mankind \*;” as if *I* were the enemy of such inestimable blessings. Under many circumstances, *I* should also plead for them, and shall be among the first to hail them, the moment they can be obtained with honour, and enjoyed with safety. But what kind of peace or repose can be hoped from the tyrant of France ? As well might a trembling wretch in the fangs of a hungry tiger hope for mercy.

I now come to the ultimatum, at which I am sincerely glad to arrive, for I grow weary of the controversy. Our author terms it an *imperious*

ultimatum. I, he says, regard it "as a very *mild* one \*." I certainly do. He ought, however, in fairness, to have quoted me out, and to have annexed to the term my qualification of it, "considering what had passed." I still retain my opinion; but as my chief reasons for retaining it are stated in my original work, it would be superfluous to repeat them here.

I again catch our author (page 42) at his old practices. In this instance, however, he goes a little farther than usual, for he not only *misquotes*, but makes me utter absolute nonsense. We, he avers, say to France (what follows is marked all the way through with inverted commas, as my words, and at the conclusion the reader is referred to page 51 of the Reason Why †), "You see it is impracticable to fulfil our agreement relative to the cession of Malta; you insult us, and we perceive plainly, mean to quarrel with us: we see your intentions, and, in order to ease our minds respecting your future designs upon Egypt, we propose that you should let us have perpetual possession of Malta;" and, a few lines lower down, marking also with inverted commas, and referring to page 52 of my pamphlet, he accuses me of writing such trash as this:

\* Page 41.

† Page 51 of the first edition, is page 59 of the second.

"We will say, the King of Etruria is the *King of Etruria*, and the Italian and Ligurian republics are *Italian and Ligurian republics*." Now, if, on consulting my original pamphlet, from which these passages are professed to have been *literally* copied (for inverted commas can mean nothing else), the reader finds not the language of the first quotation, nor the vulgar tautology of the second, what will be his opinion of this *Gentleman*?

Our author is not, however, sufficiently satisfied with this proof of his *gentlemanly* liberality; but, in the very next page, has recourse to the same *genteel* practices. He notices \* my assertion, that respecting the satisfaction and counterpoise for the acquisitions of France, Talleyrand, even in discussing this very point, admitted our claim†. This opinion of mine is founded on Lord Whitworth's letter, marked No. 53 in the Official Correspondence. Now what is the ingenious subterfuge which our author has devised to prove the contrary? Why, despairing of success, even momentary success, in any other way, he produces a long extract from the very letter in question, but *purposely omits the part to which I refer*, as if it had been something of my own invention. In this very identical letter (No. 53 of the Official Correspondence), Lord Whitworth says, and these

\* Reply, page 43.

† Page 52, Reason Why; first edit. p. 60, second.

are the words on which I plainly ground my judgment, "that if the French Government exercised a right of extending its influence and territory, in violation of the spirit of the treaty of Amiens, Great Britain had, if she chose to avail herself of it, an undoubted right to seek a counterpoise. He (Talleyrand) did not seem inclined to dispute this position, but rather to admit that such a right did exist, and might be claimed in consequence of the acquisitions which had been made by France."

Lord Hawkesbury, in his answer to Lord Whitworth, on the subject of this important letter, begins by saying, "His Majesty has observed, with great satisfaction, the admission by the French Government, of the justice of his claim to some compensation in consequence of the increased power and influence of France, since the period of the conclusion of the definitive treaty\*." But our author, who, as an introduction to a very long extract, professes to give "the main purport" of this official document, and who maliciously quotes to throw a discredit on my opinion, cautiously excludes the very passage to which I advert. Really, the method of arguing which our author adopts is so sophisticated, so unphilosophical, so unlike a scholar,

\* Correspondence, No. 56.

and so unlike a gentleman, that it is a disgusting task to be obliged to pursue him, and to expose so many gross examples of *intentional misrepresentation*.

In his original work, our author has asked, "Have we not lighted a firebrand, and hurled it on the continent, to consume it with inexhaustible flame? Are we not the western and tempestuous blast, to drive and urge that flame to the destruction of the neighbouring states \*?" Having given this specimen of the *nature* and *measure* of his veneration and affection for the British character, he has, in his present work, the *condescension* to allow "that the expression may be strong," even "too strong †;" yet, fascinated by the dazzling sublimity of the passage, he hankers after it through two or three pages, and, at last, by attempting to prove its appositeness, he allows it to retain its primitive force, and completely does away all the merit of his concession.

When our author accuses us of being guilty of the misfortunes of Holland and Switzerland ‡, he surely forgets that he had before || been endeavouring to prove our impotence, and the folly of our efforts to rescue Europe from her fate,

\* Why do we go to War? 1st edition, page 34.

† Reply, page 47.

‡ Page 48.

|| Page 20.

“that Europe which Buonaparte had conquered, that world that was his own \*,” or does he imagine, that every person who reads him is to be so completely dimmed, both in sight and recollection, by the blaze of his genius, that he will escape detection? But he not only makes us accountable for the fortunes of Holland and Switzerland, but Italy, Naples, and Hanover, are gratuitously thrown into the scale†. He further observes, that these states might say to us, “Those troops destined for Louisiana and the West, you have driven eastward upon us, while you, rolled up like the hedge-hog in stationary defence, your navy pointing like spines in every direction, remain secure and unaffailable.” On this ingenious passage, I shall make two or three remarks. In the first place, we are represented as the *drivers* of the French troops, which has not happened yet, but which is very likely to happen, should they come within our reach. In the second place, we are compared to a *hedge-hog* (no very flattering comparison), and our defence is said to be *stationary*, which, as we are continually attacking the French coast, is inaccurately stated. As to the third point, that we remain secure and unaffailable, although our author contradicts the assertion frequently in the

\* Reply, page 21.

† Page 49.

course of his pamphlet, yet in this instance he is perhaps correct.

As to our interference in the affairs of Switzerland, he significantly asks "was this no *breaking* of treaty, or attempt so to do\*?" Indisputably not! Switzerland was an independent country, which had been formally acknowledged as such by France and the other great continental powers, and, finding itself threatened with a foreign yoke, had a *right* to apply for our good offices, which we had a *right* to grant; and had we succeeded in our views, so far from *breaking our treaty*, we should only have prevented the French from *breaking theirs*.

As for the phrase of *every one* has read the Correspondence, with which our author finds fault, every liberal-minded man will understand it as a common mode of expression, when a publication has been *generally* read. I certainly did not mean, that *every individual human being in the British empire* had performed that task, and I willingly admit, that our author is *critically* exact, when he *politely* says, "Every one has *not* read the Correspondence†." This is the only victory which he has gained, and a most glorious and important one it is. I must, however, beg leave to rectify a slight error into which he has

\* Page 50.

† Ibid.

*inadvertently* fallen, a few lines farther on. He charges me with having written sixty-four pages to unravel the Correspondence \*. Now he really totally mistakes the matter. I did not write my *sixty-four* pages to *unravel* the Correspondence, but to *unravel* his comments upon it, to detect his artifices, and to expose his misrepresentations.

Our author (page 53) inquires, "And does the writer (meaning me) imagine that the unanimity displayed in the willing preparation for defence against invasion, is a proof of unanimity as to the policy and necessity of the war?" I answer, I certainly do. If, for example, the Government, in the judgment of the people, had acted wrong, and had criminally involved the country in an unjust and unnecessary war, a backwardness to espouse their cause would have been discovered by the people, which would have embarrassed all their movements, and have forced them to a reasonable concession. If, however, the enemy, having contemptuously rejected that concession, still threatened invasion and extermination, a different question would immediately have arisen. The aggrieved would then have become the aggressor, inasmuch as the punishment would have exceeded the of-

\* The 1st edition of the Reason Why contained 64 pages.



fence, and the people, rather than be subdued, would undoubtedly have armed in their defence. But our present case is widely different, nor has any such doubt or hesitation been manifested. On the contrary, the people, long before the war took place, foresaw the probability of such an event, and, the moment the causes of it were explained to them, perceiving that it was necessary to their salvation, they voluntarily and instantaneously decided how to act. They were unanimous from the outset, and their zeal has been augmented, and their opinion corroborated, by reflection. The extreme case which our author cites, and the nice distinction which he deduces, are therefore worth nothing.

Towards the conclusion of his "Reply," he *apparently* applauds\* as profligate a sentiment as was ever uttered by man, and which, if no other accusation could be alleged against Buonaparte, would stamp him a villain. This arch usurper did certainly propose to Lord Whitworth, that the army of France should be united to the navy of Britain, that these two powerful states might be able to "govern the world," and to divide the spoils between them†. Does then the greatness of the theft exonerate or exculpate the thief? It would have been a partnership, no doubt, consonant with the rapacious and perfidious

\* Page 55.

† Correspondence, No. 38.

dious views of the French cabinet, but such as could only awaken the indignant scorn of those who are actuated by the principles of British justice; and had we been capable of forming such a connexion, I have no hesitation in saying, that we should have deserved to perish.

A little lower down, he furnishes us with a specimen of the fertility of his imagination, and talks so wildly of slumbers and dreams, shadows and spectres, and aerial combats, and gives such notable proofs of sublime conception and fanciful invention, that, had he continued long in that strain, he would have driven all politics from my head, and led me to believe that I was reading some wonder-working romance. But he suddenly calls us back to the main subject, by saying, "I will suppose for a moment, that the projected invasion succeeds\*," though he does give us to understand, that, although in his opinion it is not *probable*, it is still *possible*.—There is a risk inseparable from all splendid achievements, a mysterious uncertainty about which the mind of man can never be entirely at rest. All that depends upon us, we must endeavour to accomplish; the rest we must leave to the controlling ordinations of that mighty and merciful Providence who judges of our motives, and who, we must humbly hope,

\* Page 56.

will reward our exertions. Should we thus be doomed to perish, I trust that our fall will not be unworthy of our past fame. We shall, at least, have done what men can do; and, in our last moments, shall have the heart-felt consolation of having discharged the most sacred of all duties, that of sacrificing ourselves for the defence of our country: and, as it is incomparably preferable to die with glory than to live with infamy, there is no room for deliberation on our choice.

Our author, sensitively alive to my having accused him, in my original work, of getting into a kind of Cretan labyrinth, in his "Reply," retorts the charge; and says, "It seems, indeed, a labyrinth, which he (meaning me) cannot, nor does he attempt to extricate himself out of;" and, by way of proving the justice of his remark, he adds, "but with the wings of *Dædalus* escapes all intricacies, flies over seas, over gulphs, and deserts, &c. \*". Now, although our author has evidently, throughout both his pamphlets, been very anxious to establish his reputation as a scholar; and, in proof of his knowledge of languages, has, in the course of his labours, quoted Greek, Latin, French, and Italian, yet he has, in this instance, stumbled on a most unfortunate classical illustration, as it proves the direct reverse of what he is so desirous to enforce.

I, at least, have always heard Dædalus commended for his skill; and so highly did the ancients think of his superior intelligence, that his name has, in more instances than one, become proverbial. But our author would, no doubt, have been better pleased, if, instead of passing over gulfs, and seas, and *deserts, unhurt* (pretty places, truly, to tarry in), I had rather imitated Icarus, who, possessing more temerity and less judgment than his father, was drowned on his passage. Thus, if the simile applies at all, it is certainly in *my* favour, and I have to thank our author for the high compliment he has, *unwittingly*, paid me.

Quitting the wings of Dædalus, in the same sentence he introduces some nonsense of his own invention, as a part of my pamphlet. *His* words are these: "In answer to my query, whether we should be *utterly*" (a term not in the original) "ruined and undone, even by the loss of India, which I placed at a scarce possible extremity, he says" (meaning me), "I really think *we should be* : and not, it appears by the loss of that acknowledged source of wealth, but because, we should then surrender our island, the island of Great Britain, the moment the French chose to summon us to do it." Now, by a reference to the Reason Why \*, my answer to *his* question will be found

\* Page 59 of the first edition, page 67 of the second.

to run thus: " I really think we *should be*; for if we had not the courage to go to war for the preservation of such objects, we should not only, by their loss, be deprived of an immense source of prosperity and wealth, but all sense of honour, and all love of glory, would be already extinct; and the moment the French summoned our own island to submit, we should, in all probability, surrender it." The least attentive reader must, at the slightest glance, perceive the wide distinction between these two passages. Had he only changed the language, as he does not, in this instance, pursue his usual mode, and mark it with inverted commas, I should have made no objection; but, having completely marred the sense, it is an act of justice which I owe to myself to expose him.

Our author now favours us with a few cursory remarks on trade, by which he evinces his profound knowledge of the commercial interests of this country; and, having afforded this unquestionable proof of his *commercial sagacity*\*, he concludes with a similar one of his *political sagacity*†. He here indulges us with his ideas of peace, which exhibit such a splendid specimen of foresight and penetration, that I expect that petitions will shortly be presented from all parts of his Majesty's dominions, humbly praying him to appoint this gentleman his prime-minister.

\* Page 59.

† Ibid.

that the nation, in these arduous and portentous times, may be assisted by his talents, redeemed from present jeopardy, and secured, beyond the possibility of deterioration, in the full enjoyment of those peculiar blessings by which it has been so long distinguished. By following our author's advice, we should, *indeed*, "shut the gates," and "turn the key" too, not, however, as he states, "against discord," but against many of our most obvious and vital interests.

In the above examination of our author's "Reply," I have been carried, much against my will, to a considerable length; but, when the many parts are considered, which I have been compelled to notice \*, I hope no other excuse will be

\* I should observe, that besides the parts of our author's last pamphlet, which I have exposed, there are numerous instances of incorrect quotations, such as (page 11), "Insurmountable *objests* were instantly *stared* by France," instead of "insurmountable *objections* were instantly *started* by France." Reason Why, p. 15, first edit. p. 16, second. (Page 34) "Injure the privileges of the Maltese," instead of, "disfranchise the native inhabitants," Reason Why, p. 41, first edit. p. 47, second. (Page 36) "In short, it was among those provocations, those reproaches, and those encroachments, that it would not only place Malta, but *England*, at the disposal of France:" instead of, "Were we still to go on, submitting to provocations, enduring reproaches, and acquiescing in encroachment, till not only Malta, but England, was at the disposal of France." Reason Why, p. 44, first edit. p. 50, second. The reader will remark, that, in all these passages, not only the language, but the sense, is altered.

deemed necessary. Anxious, however, as I am to dismiss the subject, I must still say a few words before I take my *final* leave.

With regard to the reproach of my being a "*hireling*" and a "*stipendiary*" of Government, I can, with the most perfect good-humour, acquaint our author, that, in this bold assertion, he is as wide from the truth, as he is in most of the other parts of his two pamphlets. But as he founds his conjecture on the part I have taken, in defence of the cause of my country, by the exposure of his fallacy and misrepresentation, and on the success with which I have cleared her from those aspersions, with which the impotent malignity of his pen has endeavoured to load her—I feel perfectly indifferent about his opinion. I might, if I chose to follow so bad an example, and I am sure with much more apparent reason, accuse *him* of being *the hireling and stipendiary of France*, but

Yet all these quotations are marked with inverted commas, and references are given to the particular pages of my pamphlet. This is sufficient to satisfy the generality of readers, who, in these respects, usually give credit to an author for his fidelity. There are, besides, innumerable quibbles and evasions, which it would be endless to notice. Our author furnishes, however, two instances (there may be others), page 46, and page 48, that he *can*, when he *chooses*, quote *correctly*; but the reason of his accuracy in these passages is evident, as he thinks it enables him to give additional force to his own arguments.

this I shall not do, as such angry insinuations neither strengthen nor invalidate argument, and only furnish common-place specimens of vulgar wit\*. I, therefore, seriously admonish

\* To this remark I shall just add one single question: Whether is he who defends the cause of his country, or he who writes against that cause, and who exerts and *perverts* all his talents to frame an apology for the acts of a government, which, to use his own words, is *threatening* us "with a tremendous and irresistible invasion †," most likely to be under undue influence? The cause which I have espoused is both natural and honourable, and I am sure it is that which every true and loyal Briton will cheerfully and steadfastly support. Our author, in the first page of his "Reply," boasts of his loyalty, which I, founding my opinion on the part he had volunteered, had, in the Reason Why, rather impeached. Fearful, however, that he had not sufficiently established his reputation for that quality, in the course of his "Reply," that he may place it beyond the reach of all slanderous suspicion, he employs the following respectful and endearing epithets: page 20, We are a "little island, idle, useless, vain-boasting:" page 23, We are a "very foolish nation:" page 24, We assume a pre-eminence we are not entitled to; we have confirmed the misfortunes of the continent; and "are trembling for the safety of our own capital:" page 25, "We break our faith, sully our honour, blast our fame, and risk our existence for no object, at least a light one:" page 31, We remind our author of a certain philosopher, who, in making experiments on the organs of sight, "nearly put out his eyes by squeezing them:" page 38, We light up the flame of war "because we insist on retaining a rocky island, which we were under a solemn compact to resign:" page 40, We have "every op-

† Reply, page 56.



him, in future, if he disdain to shew more discretion, at least to give a colourable pretence for his judgment; and most sincerely do I assure him, that, in bringing a charge of such a nature against me, which he also delivers\*, and repeats†, in pretty positive language, as far as concerns myself, its total non-application renders it perfectly innoxious, and, as far as concerns *him*, it only adds one to the numerous instances of the leading defect of his writings, which prove, that, however confident and dogmatical, he may still be wrong.

Considering the method he has pursued, both in his examination of the Correspondence, and of the Reason Why, which, I trust, I have fully explained; I might, and with a strict re-

probrium of breach of faith to contend with:" page 49. We are first "lighting up the flame of war," and have "set fire to the combustible matter in France:" two lines farther on, We are "rolled up like the hedge-hog in stationary defence:" and two lines still farther, We are metamorphosed into a "blast driving the flame still eastward, through Greece to Constantinople:" (really all this fine imagery should have been reserved for some pantomimical entertainment, for the amusement of children during the Christmas holidays;) and lastly, page 58, by way of the grand catastrophe, The Mediterranean is likely to become "a bottomless pit to swallow up the seamen and treasure of this island."

\* Why do we go to War? additional leaf to the 2d edition.

† Reply, pages 1 and 4.

gard to justice, have treated him with much greater severity; but he has placed himself so *entirely* at my mercy, that he has, in some degree, excited my compassion, and I have not been desirous of pushing him to extremities. As, however, he may not always meet with so lenient an adversary, I will take the liberty of giving him a counsel before we part (and a *better* his *best* friend cannot give); which is, should he ever write again, attentively to bear in mind, that declamation is not argument, that assertion is not fact, and that accusation is not proof.

THE END.

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